

THE GENERAL
HISTORY
OF THE VAST
CONTINENT *and* ISLANDS
OF
AMERICA,
Commonly call'd, THE
WEST-INDIES,

FROM
The FIRST DISCOVERY thereof:

With the Best ACCOUNTS the People could give of their

ANTIQUITIES.

Collected from the Original RELATIONS
sent to the Kings of SPAIN.

By ANTONIO DE HERRERA,
Historiographer to His CATHOLICK MAJESTY.

Translated into *English* by Capt. JOHN STEVENS.

VOL. III

Illustrated with CUTTS and MAPS.

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THE
General HISTORY
Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of
A M E R I C A, &c.

D E C A D. II. B O O K VII.

C H A P. I.

*Orders taken in Spain about the Affairs of
the West-Indies; what hapned at Cubagua,
and Maracapana.*

WHILST what has been said hapned in
New-Spain, Alonso Hernandez, Puerto Carre-
ro, and Francis de Montejo, Martin Cortes,
Father to *Ferdinand Cortes*, and the Pilot
Antony de Alaminos, spoke to the King of *Spain* at *Tor-*
desillas, delivering their Letters, and the Accounts they
brought of what had been done, and of the Country;
excusing *Cortes*, and showing Cause for his refusing

VOL. III.

B

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2 The HISTORY of *America*.

to obey *James Velasquez*. They asserted, that no Man could better carry on those Discoveries, or subdue that Empire. They presented the Things they had brought, and the *Indian* Men and Women, which Present was look'd upon as the strangest and most valuable that had yet been seen, and so much admir'd, that it gave Credit to all that was reported of the Grandeur of that new Country. The King return'd special Thanks to God, for having in his Time discover'd those Provinces, where his Name might be glorify'd. He order'd the *Indians* to be carry'd to *Sevil*, and well treated, because they would be in Danger in travelling through cold Countries. His Majesty then decided nothing as to those Affairs, because the Party of *James Velasquez* making great Complaints, on account of *Cortes's* revolting from him, and the said *Velasquez* being a Man of Reputation, who had great Friends to support him; the King being in great Haste because the Electors press'd him to come over to be crown'd Emperor, and the Bishop of *Burgos*, who understood those Affairs being at *Coruna*, fitting out the Fleet to carry his Majesty over to *Flanders*, the Decision was referr'd to that City.

WHEN the King arriv'd at *Coruna*, Matters of great Moment were brought in, upon his Departure, from all Parts of *Spain*, especially on the Account of the Rebellion of several Cities, as Commoners, for which Reason, and because the Weather was not fit to sail, his Majesty stay'd there two Months. Upon the great Importunity of the Persons intrusted, the seven last Days before the King's Departure, were deputed for dispatching the Affairs of the *West-Indies*. The first Thing concluded on was, that the Admiral *Don James Columbus*, should, in Consideration of his Father's Merits, be restor'd to his Government of *Hispaniola*, and the other Islands discover'd by his Father, as Vice-roy, and to his Rights as Admiral, with some Restrictions

Restrictions and Regulations, as was thought expedient at that time. In the next place, Information being given, that the two Monasteries of *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* that were on the Coast of *Cumana* were successful in their Preaching, it was order'd, that they should be supply'd with whatsoever they wanted for their Subsistence, and that twenty *Franciscans* should have their Passage given them, and others should be encourag'd to go, that there might be no want of Labourers. The Admiral sail'd from *Sevil* in *September*, and arriv'd in *Hispaniola* in *November 1520*. With him went over the Licenciate *Antony Serrano*, with Power to make Settlements on the Island of *Guadalupe*, upon very advantageous Terms, and a Commission to govern the Islands of *Monferrate*, *Barbada*, *Antigua*, *Desseada*, *Dominica* and *Matiniño*, neighbouring upon *Guadalupe*, till Governours should be appointed for them, because they were inhabited by *Canibals*, to which Effect he was furnish'd with all Necessaries, and yet he perform'd nothing. To return to the Transactions of *Coruna*, nothing was concluded as to the Affairs of *Cortes*, but only that the Deputies of *New Spain* should be allow'd what they wanted for their Expences, upon Security, out of what had been seiz'd of theirs at *Sevil*. *Peter Arias de Avila* was appointed to continue in his Government on the Isthmus of *America*, notwithstanding the Petitions presented against him by the Bishop of *Darien*, and Father *Casas*. The latter of those two was also dispatch'd, to go labour for the Conversion of the *Indians* on the Continent, having two hundred and sixty Leagues along the Coast assign'd him, from the Province of *Patria* to that of *Santa Marta*, whereupon he went away to *Sevil* to prepare for his Voyage.

WHILST Father *Casas* was so employ'd as has been said, the Council of *Hispaniola* very strictly observing all those who dealt in Slaves, that they should not

4 The HISTORY of America.

meddle with any but such as were Canibals. One *A-
lonso de Ojeda*, an Inhabitant of the Island of *Cubagua*,
fitted out a Ship and ran down seven Leagues along the
Coast to the Port of *Chiribichi*, where the *Dominican*
Friers, with their own Hands had built a Monastery,
which they call'd *St. Faith*. There were in it, when
the Ship arriv'd there, only two Friers, the one a
Priest, and the other a Lay-Brother, the rest being
gone to Preach, and hear Confessions at *Cubagua*. The
Seamen went ashore, with the utmost Security, be-
cause the Friers during their Stay there had brought
the Natives to such a peaceable Temper, that one sin-
gle *Spaniard* loaded with Goods to barter would go
four Leagues up the Country, and return with what
he had got in Exchange. Those Men went to the
Monastery, the Friers receiv'd them lovingly, and
gave them a Collation. They said, they would speak
to the Lord of the Town, whose Name was *Marag-
uey*, a Man naturally fierce, discreet, and cautious,
and who was not thoroughly satisfy'd with the Beha-
viour of the *Spaniards*, but conniv'd at some Things
to keep the Friers in his Country for his own Securi-
ty. He was sent for, and when come, went aside
with *Ojeda* and two *Spaniards*, the one of them Stew-
ard, and the other Clerk of the Ship. *Ojeda* in the
Presence of the *Cazique* ask'd for a Sheet of Paper, Pen
and Ink of the Religious Man, who was Vicar of the
House, and thinking no harm gave it him, and went
away. *Ojeda* asking *Maraguey*, whether he knew of
any People in his Neighbourhood that did eat Man's
Flesh, the *Indian* hearing him ask for such as were
Man-eaters, and knowing that the *Spaniards* made War
with such People, and carry'd them away for Slaves,
was much incens'd, and appear'd angry, saying in his
Language, *No, no Man's Flesh, no Man's Flesh*, and
went away refusing to talk to them any more; and
though they endeavour'd to appease him, he remain'd
very

very uneasy, suspecting that they only sought some pretence against him, and his People. *Ojeda* took leave of the Friars, and imbarcking his Men, went four Leagues from thence down the Coast to a Town call'd *Maracapana*, belonging to a Lord, whom the *Spaniards* call'd *Giles Gonzalez*, because he having been in the Island *Hispaniola*, the Controller *Giles Gonzalez* made very much of him, and was his great Friend. This Lord was no less discreet than *Maraguey*, and liv'd as cautiously, but always entertain'd the *Spaniards* kindly that went to his Town. *Ojeda* arriving at *Maracapana*, *Giles Gonzalez* went out to meet him, gave them all to eat, and convers'd in a friendly manner. *Ojeda* intimated that he was going to barter for *Indian* Wheat with the *Tagares*, being the People on the Mountain three Leagues from thence; and when he had rested went away towards that Mountain, with twelve or fifteen of his Men, leaving the rest to look to the Caravel. The Mountaineers receiv'd them well, they ask'd them to sell fifty Loads of Wheat, and to find so many Men to carry it to *Maracapana*, where they would pay for the Wheat, and the Carriage. All was comply'd with, and they came to the Town with their Burdens on a *Friday* in the Afternoon. As soon as come into the Market Place, they set down their Loads, and lay along to rest them; the *Spaniards* slyly enclos'd, and drawing their Swords began to bind them; but some of them starting up made their escape, though wounded, and thirty-six were carry'd aboard. *Giles Gonzalez* being highly incens'd at this Wickedness, sent Messengers all about the neighbouring Parts, to give an Account of it. Hereupon, to prevent the *Spaniards* ever more coming to disturb them, they concluded to kill the Friars, supposing them Accomplices in that Fact, since they gave the Paper to *Ojeda*, and because when any *Spaniards* pass'd along the Coast, they went to refresh and divert themselves at the Monastery.

hastery. Accordingly they agreed, that on the next *Sunday*, when the *Spaniards* did no Work, but went ashore to divert themselves, *Giles Gonzalez* should kill *Ojeda* and his Men, the Vessel being there still, and *Maraguey* the same Day should kill the Friers; and that from thence forwards they should always be in Arms, and destroy all *Spaniards* that should attempt to go ashore. *Ojeda* did not stay till *Sunday*, but went ashore on *Saturday*, as unconcern'd as if he had done nothing, and *Giles Gonzalez* came out, with a cheerful Countenance to meet him, and twelve of his Companions, but when they were near the first Houses of the Town, which stood next the Water, a great Number of arm'd Men rush'd out and fell upon the *Spaniards*, and kill'd *Ojeda* and six of his Followers, the rest sav'd themselves by swimming to the Ship, which the *Indians* attack'd with a Number of Canoes, but could not prevail, for it sail'd away.

Maraguey being eas'd of the *Spaniards* by the Death of *Ojeda*, was not so hasty in killing the Friers, for having them like Sheep in a Pen, he stay'd till *Sunday*, the appointed Time, and then as the Priest was vested to say Mass, and the Lay-Brother had confess'd, in order to receive the Sacrament, *Maraguey* rung their Bell, and the Lay-Brother opening the Door, they kill'd him there, without being perceiv'd by the Priest that was vested, behind whom they came, and cleft his Head with an Ax, sending them both to enjoy the beatifick Vision, as may with good Reason be believ'd, for they may well be reckned as Martyrs since the occasion of their being there was no other than the Preaching of the Catholick Faith. Then the *Indians* burnt the Monastery, and all that was in it, and shot to Death a Horse those Religious Men had to draw a little Cart for the Service of their House. This Disaster was soon known in the Island of *Cubagua*, by Means of the *Indians*, and three or four arm'd Boats went

went out from thence, which running down the Coast, found it in Arms, and not daring to Land, return'd Home. Advice hereof being brought to the Island *Hispaniola*, where the Admiral then was, it was resolv'd in Council, to chastise those People, carrying them all away to the Islands, to which Purpose five Ships were order'd to be fitted out with three hundred Men, and *Gonzalo de Ocampo* was appointed to Command them. About the same time Father *Casas* arriv'd from *Spain* with two hundred Labourers, Store of Provisions, Goods to barter, and all other Necessaries, the Bishop of *Burgos* having for Fear of Cardinal *Adrian*, who was left to govern *Spain*, furnish'd him plentifully. Father *Casas* was much surpriz'd, at his Arrival, to hear what had hapned, because the main Foundation of his Project depended on the Monasteries that had been destroy'd. However he question'd not but to reduce the *Indians* by fair Means, and therefore the Ships above-mention'd being ready to sail to destroy those who had kill'd the Friars, he apply'd to the Commander *Gonzalo de Ocampo*, show'd the King's Orders, and requir'd him to desist from that Enterprize, since His Majesty had entrusted him with that Affair; but *Ocampo* turn'd all off with a Jest, and proceeded on his Voyage.

CAPTAIN *Ocampo* sail'd over to the Continent with only two Ships, leaving the other three at *Cubagua*, hoping the better to surprize the *Indians*. Being arriv'd at *Maracapana*, the Country of the Cazique *Giles Gonzalez*, he kept his Men close under Hatches, showing only four or five Sailors, and pretending he came from *Spain*. The *Indians* at first were very shy, but seeing so few Men began to draw near, being invited with *Spanish* Bread and Wine, which they coveted above all Things. They ask'd, Whence they came, and were answer'd, From *Spain*. The *Indians* again reply'd, Not from *Spain*, but from *Ays*, the Name they

8 *The HISTORY of America.*

they gave to the Island *Hispaniola*, their Fear making them doubt, as being sensible that their Punishment must come from *Santo Domingo*. At length, the Covetousness of the Wine, and the Commander's Subtily deluded them, for several of them went aboard, though the Cazi que stay'd in the Canoe. Then the Men that were under Hatches rush'd out, and seiz'd the *Indians*, and a Sailor *Ocampo* had ready, being an active Man, a great Swimmer, and stripp'd of his Cloaths, leap'd into the Canoe, and grappling with *Giles Gonzalez*, they both fell into the Water, and the Sailor stabb'd him with a Dagger he had, then other Seamen leap'd into the Water, and kill'd him. *Ocampo* sent for the other Ships, and hang'd several of the Prisoners at the Yard Arms, that they might be seen from the Land. He set Men ashore, attack'd and enter'd the Town, took and kill'd many, hanging some, and impaling others. Thinking he had done enough for an Example, and the neighbouring Provinces begging Pardon, he sent away the Ships, laden with Slaves to the Island *Hispaniola*, to defray the Charge of that Expedition, and with his *Spaniards* founded a Town, half a League up the River of *Cumana*, which was call'd *Toledo*.

FATHER *Casas* not being able to prevail with *Ocampo* to desist from his Enterprize, as has been said, presented his Commission, and the Order he had from the King, before the Admiral, the Judges of Appeal, and the King's Officers, being ten in Number, who meeting together were call'd the Consult, and requir'd them to cause the same to be executed. They order'd them to be proclaim'd by sound of Trumpets in the Cross-Streets, being the most publick Place in that City, and particularly that Order, which enjoyn'd, that no Person should presume to hurt or terrify the Inhabitants of the Provinces within the Limits assign'd Father *Casas*, which might be any Hindrance to the
Reduction

Reduction and Conversion he had undertaken ; but that those who hapned to pass along that Coast, if they would Trade and Barter, should go peaceably and friendly, as dealing with Subjects of the King of *Spain*, and therefore they should do it in the fairest and justest manner, under Pain of forfeiting all their Goods, and their Persons to be at the King's Mercy. He also requir'd them to cause the Country to be clear'd for him, that *Ocampo* should be recall'd, and not permitted to make War any longer on the *Indians*, since that Assembly had no Power from the King to authorize him so to do. They answer'd, his Proposal should be taken into consideration, and because Notice was given that Father *Casas* his Ship was not fit to go to Sea, Orders were given to have it search'd by skilful Men, who reporting that it was not serviceable, it was commanded down the River, which occasion'd the putting off his Voyage at that Time.

C H A P. II.

The Prosecution of Magellan's Voyage, to find out the Streight ; he meets with many Storms, enters the River of St. Julian, where three of his Ships Mutiny ; Mutineers punish'd ; the Streights discover'd.

MAGELLAN departing from *Rio de Janeiro*, at the latter End of the Year 1519, as was said before, held on his Course till the 7th of *January* 1520, when Sounding they found eighty-five Fathoms Water, and the Lead brought up a very fine black Sand. The 10th of the same Month, they
C found

found the Latitude thirty-four Degrees, and from fifteen to eighteen Fathom Water, the Bottom white, sometimes very small broken Shells, sometimes red Sand, and sometimes black and white, with the same small Shells. The 11th they ran along the Coast, which is very low, so that they could not make any other Land-marks, but three Hills, that look'd like Islands, which the Pilot *Caravallo* said were Cape St. *Mary*, and knew it by the Account he had from *John de Lisboa*, a *Portuguese* Pilot, who had been there. The 12th they came to an Anchor, and rode a great Part of the Night in a violent Storm at East, though their Anchors dragg'd, but the next Morning, being the 13th, they sail'd again, and ran seven Leagues and a half, when they anchor'd again in seven Fathoms Water the bottom black Sand. The same Day they enter'd the River of *Solis*, since call'd the River of *Plate*, and sail'd two Days up it, but would proceed no farther, because they found only three Fathoms Water in the deepest Place, and there was much muttering among the Men. There they continu'd six Days taking in Water, which they found as good as that of the River of *Sevil*. They also took Abundance of Fish, and many of the Natives came off in Canoes, but would not draw near, whereupon *Magellan* order'd three Boats to be mann'd, and then all the *Indians* fled, so that no one could be taken. The Country appear'd very delightful, but without any Town, and that was the Place where they had kill'd *John de Solis*. The Commadore seeing no Body could be taken, order'd the Boats back again, and at Night one *Indian* came alone in a Canoe, and went aboard the Admiral, without showing any Fear: He was cloath'd in a Goat's Skin, *Magellan* gave him a Linen Shirt, and a Jerkin of Red Cloth. When cloath'd they show'd him a Silver Porringer, to try whether he knew that Metal, he clapp'd it to his Breast, and said, they

The HISTORY of *America*. 11

they had very much of that among them. The next Morning he went ashore, and was never seen again. Then *Magellan* went aboard the Ship *St. Antony*, and cross'd the River, which he found to be twenty Leagues over, and returning gave Orders to be ready to continue their Voyage.

Monday the 6th of *February*, they weigh'd before Day, and stood South-South-West; South, and South and by West till Five in the Afternoon, where they spy'd very low Land a-head, and came to an Anchor in five Fathoms Water. *Tuesday* the 7th weigh'd and ran again South and by West, little above half a Glass, and then came again to an Anchor to prevent falling off with the Calm and Current, and the next Day ran along the Coast till Noon; fourteen Leagues, all the Bottom small white Sand, the Depth from seven to ten Fathoms, and flat. This Day at Noon, the Sun's Altitude was sixty Degrees and a half, and his Declination eleven Degrees fifty-three Minutes South, which being deducted from the Altitude, there remain forty-eight Degrees thirty-seven Minutes, so that the Complement of ninety Degrees being forty-one Degrees twenty-three Minutes was the Latitude or Distance from the Equinoctial to the Southward. *Sunday* the 12th of *February* they anchor'd in nine Fathoms Water, where they had a Storm of Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, which lasted a considerable Time; and when the Violence of it was over, according to the Opinion of the Mariners, there appear'd the glorious Body of *Santelmo*, others said it was *St. Peter Gonzalez*, others *St. Clare*, and others *St. Nicholas*, whatsoever it was, they concluded it to be Heavenly, very wonderful, and of spiritual Comfort; and many who had before thought that sort of Apparition to be a meer fancy, saw, believ'd and asserted it. [Note, That this is among Sailors said to be a Light that appears about the Top Masts, when a Storm is going off, which the Hea-

12 *The HISTORY of America.*

thens have spoken of, calling it by the Name of Castor and Pollux, and the Spaniards call it Santelmo.] Thus they coasted along about a League by Day, and five or six by Night, till coming to a very fine Bay, *Magellan* went into it, to see whether it was not a Streight; but finding no Bottom to come to an Anchor, they turn'd out again, calling it the Bay of St. *Matthias*, because they found it on his Day. They were then in forty Degrees of South Latitude, and felt very much Cold; besides, that the farther they went, the fiercer the Storms grew, and three or four Days pass'd before the Ships could come together again.

ADVANCING under these Difficulties, they came to an Anchor in a Bay to wood and water. A Skiff with six Men in it was sent ashore, and the Coast being dangerous, came to an Island where there were many Sea Calves, and such Quantities of Penguins, that the Men were amaz'd, and finding neither Wood nor Water, they loaded with those Creatures, and all the Ships might have laded with them, because the Penguins having short Wings cannot fly up. When the Skiff was ready to go off, so great a Storm arose, that they were oblig'd to stay in the Island all Night, where they expected to have been devour'd by these Sea Calves, or starv'd with Cold. In the Morning a Boat came with thirty Men, sent by the Admiral to look for those six, they found the Skiff forsaken, among some Rocks, and fearing that the Sea Calves had devour'd those six Men, they cry'd out aloud, whereupon above two hundred of those Sea Calves came out from among the Rocks, they kill'd fifty, and the rest got into the Sea. They went on to the Rocks from whence those Calves came out, and found the six Men hidden, almost Dead with the Cold, the Water having come up to them. The Admiral sent three Boats to load with Calves, but none of them came out of the Water, so that they only found Penguins. When
their

their Yards were hoisted in order to sail, there blew such a Tempest in upon them, that the Admiral's Cables gave way, and he came so near some Rocks, that if one Cable had not held at last, every Man must have perish'd. Many Vows were made, yet the next Night another Storm arose that held for three Days, and occasion'd many more Vows; then it ceas'd, and they got out of that Bay, which they call'd of *Penguins*.

THEY held on their Voyage, and came to a very fine Bay, which had a narrow Mouth, but was spacious within, and thinking it a proper Place to Winter, because that Season came on in those Parts, for it was then *April*, they went into it, and met with greater Storms and more Dangers than they had been in before, during six Days. All that while, the Men, who had gone in a Skiff for Water, could not return, but were forc'd to feed upon Muscles, making Fire at Night, to the end that if any Ship should be drove ashore they might know whether to make. At length it pleas'd God to carry them out of that Bay, which they call'd *de los Trabajos*, or of Sufferings, and sailing along the Coast put into the River of St. *Julian*, on *Easter-Eve*. On *Easter Day* the Admiral and all the Men went ashore, to hear Mass. Having resolv'd to Winter there, he order'd the Men's Allowance to be shortned; whereupon, and considering the Barrenness of the Country, and the extreme Cold, the Men intreated him, that, since he saw that Country stretch'd away directly towards the Antartick Pole, and no sign of any End of it appear'd, nor any Streight, the Winter coming on severe, and some had already dy'd by faring hard, he would either give them a larger Allowance, or return back; urging, that it was not the King's Design, that they should proceed upon Impossibilities, that it was enough for them to have gone farther than any Person ever yet durst venture, and that

14 *The HISTORY of America.*

that if they went on nearer to the Pole, some outrageous Blast of Wind might perhaps cast them into a place where they could never get out, but must all perish.

Magellan, who was a Man of Resolution, and did immediately put a Stop to any Innovation, said; “ He
 “ was bent upon dying, or performing what he had
 “ undertaken; that the King had order'd his Voyage,
 “ and he would positively advance till he met with
 “ the End of that Land, or some Streight, which
 “ there must needs be; that though the Winter seem'd
 “ to be some difficulty, there would be none when
 “ the Summer came to carry on their Discovery under
 “ the Antartick Pole, assuring them they would
 “ come to a Place, where it would be Day for three
 “ Months together, that he wonder'd to see *Spaniards*
 “ so faint-hearted; that as to the Point of eating, they
 “ had no Cause to complain, for in that Bay of St.
 “ *Julian*, there was Plenty of Wood, good Fish,
 “ Water and Fowl; and since they could not want
 “ Bread and Wine, if they would be content with
 “ their Allowance, and consider that the *Portuguezes*,
 “ who sail'd to the Eastward pass'd twelve Degrees
 “ beyond the Tropick of *Capricorn* without any Difficulty,
 “ whereas they were not above two Degrees
 “ beyond it, and he himself was resolv'd rather to dye
 “ than to turn back shamefully, he was assur'd, that
 “ his Comrades would not want that brave Resolution
 “ on which naturally belong'd to the *Spanish* Nation,
 “ whereof they gave daily Testimonies, and therefore
 “ he intreated them to wait with Patience till what
 “ little remain'd of the Winter was over, for the more
 “ they suffer'd, the greater Reward they might expect
 “ from the King, for whom he question'd not
 “ but he should discover a World not yet known,
 “ abounding in Gold and Spice so as to enrich them
 “ all.”

THE common sort of People being fickle, and easily to be led any way, were satisfy'd at that Time with his Speech, though still there was muttering, for which he slightly punish'd some Persons. However, their Life being very uneasy there, many afterwards were upon the Point of Mutinying, and *Magellan* sending his Skiff to the Ship St. *Antony* to take in four Men to fetch Water; before it came to the Ship, a Man aboard it bid those in the Skiff not to come near, because Captain *Gaspar de Quesada* was there, who had confin'd *Alvaro de la Mezquita*, *Magellan's* Kinsman, by him appointed Captain, upon deposing of *John de Cartagena*, and the Pilot *John Rodriguez Masra*, and that he had murder'd the Master, *Magellan* having this Account, order'd the Skiff to return to the same Ship and the rest, and ask, who they were for? Aboard the Ship St. *Antony* Captain *Gaspar de Quesada* answer'd, That they were for the King and him; aboard the *Victory*, *Lewis de Mendoza* answer'd the same, and *John de Cartagena* said the like in the *Conception*, for he had been set at Liberty. Captain *John Rodriguez Serrano*, aboard the *Santiago*, said the Ship was for the King, and for *Magellan*, for he knew nothing of what had hapned that Night aboard the other Ships. Hereupon *Magellan* considering the Mutiny was so far advanc'd, that there was more occasion for Rashness than Lenity, order'd all his Men to arm, to provide Darts, Spears, Stones, and all other Stores on the Decks, and round Tops, and the Guns to be ready. He then put thirty chosen Men he could confide in into the Long-Boat, and five into the Skiff, which last he order'd to go aboard the *Victory*, and deliver a Letter to Captain *Lewis de Mendoza*, and whilst he was reading it boldly to stab him, and then the thirty that were in the Long-Boat to come in to their Assistance. *Magellan* did this because he knew there were many aboard that Ship of his side, and what he appointed

pointed was punctually put in Execution, by which Means the Ship return'd to his Obedience without any Opposition.

WHEN he was inform'd that *Lewis Mendoza* was kill'd, he order'd the Men to eat and drink heartily, and to be upon the watch, lest the other Ships should make their Way out, it being then about Midnight. Soon after they saw the Ship *St. Antony* going down the River towards the Admiral and the *Victory*, whereupon they both made ready, imagining they were coming to Fight ; but it was the Current that caus'd her, the Anchors not being able to hold her. *Magellan* diligently observ'd what that Ship would do, no Man appearing besides Captain *Gaspar Quesada*, who was upon the Quarter Deck, with a Spear and a Target, calling his Men, but they did not stir ; then the Admiral's great Guns play'd upon the Sides of the *St. Antony*, and a Ball flew into the great Cabbin, where *John Rodriguez Masfra* was confin'd, and pass'd between his Legs, without hurting him. By this time *Magellan* had boarded the *Victory*, and entring his Men they secur'd *Gaspar de Quesada*, and the other guilty Persons, whom they sent aboard the Admiral ; and setting Captain *Alvaro de Mesquita* and *John Rodriguez Masfra* at Liberty, he commanded a Boat with forty Men, to know who the *Conception* was for, and they answer'd, They were for *Magellan*. They asking again, whether they might safely go aboard, were answer'd, They might, which accordingly they did, seiz'd *John de Cartagena*, and carry'd him aboard the Admiral.

THE next Day *Magellan* order'd *Lewis de Mendoza*, who had been kill'd aboard the Ship *Victory* to be quarter'd. He spent some Days in examining into that Mutiny, and found above forty Men deserv'd Death, whom he pardon'd, because he had occasion for them, and did not think it convenient to gain ill Will by too much

much Severity. However he condemn'd *Gaspar de Quesada* to be quarter'd, a Servant of his to be hang'd, and *John de Cartagena* to be left in that Country. There being no Executioner, the Servant, to save his own Life, consented to execute his Master, and accordingly Strangled, and then Quarter'd him. This did not put an End to the Disturbance, for a *French* Clergyman, that was aboard the Ship *St. Antony*, endeavour'd to raise a Mutiny among the Men, and none consenting to him, he was discover'd, secur'd, and adjudg'd to be left in that Country with *John de Cartagena*. The Winter beginning then to decline, *Magellan* commanded Captain *Serrano*, to sail along the Coast, to see if there was any Streight, and if he found none within a certain Number of Leagues assign'd him, to return. At twenty Leagues distance he found a fine River, that was a League over, and that Day being the Feast of the *Invention of the Holy Cross*, which is on the 3d of *May*, he gave it the Name of *Santa Cruz*, or the Holy Cross, and stay'd in it six Days, Fishing, and killing Sea Calves, among which was one that weigh'd five hundred Weight wanting a Quarter, without the Skin, Head, and Oil. *Serrano* would have gone farther, but three Leagues from thence such a Gust of Wind started up, that it rent all his Sails, and the Ship plunging, the Helm started out, before it was a-ground, but it pleas'd God that before another Sea came the Head struck a-ground upon a Flat, so that all the Men got safe ashore, without losing one, though the Ship was stay'd, and all that was in her perish'd. They fed eight Days upon Shell Fishes they found among the Rocks, and intending to return to the other Ships, knew not how to get over that great River; but finding some Planks on the Shore they carry'd them on their Backs, and being very weak spent four Days in coming to it, though they were but six Leagues from it, eating Herbs all the way. There

were thirty-seven of them, and yet all the Planks they carry'd could only make a little Boat to hold two Men, because being so weak, they dropp'd them by the way.

Two Men having pass'd the River, travelling along the Country two Days, without finding any good Herbs to eat, and enduring much Cold, by reason of the Snow; they then turn'd down to the Sea, to seek something to eat, and meeting with some Shell-fish went again up the Land, because the way to the Ships was better there than along the Shore. At the end of eleven Days, they arriv'd in such miserable Plight, that they could scarce be known. *Magellan* was much troubled for the Loss of the Ship, but well pleas'd that the Men were sav'd, though he wanted the Provisions that were cast away. He sent twenty Men loaded with Bread, Wine, and other Provisions by Land, to relieve those in Distress, because the Sea ran so high that there was no venturing on it. They had suffer'd very great Want, and were forc'd to thaw the Ice to drink. When the Bread came, they spent two Days in passing over the River in the little Boat, *Magellan* distributed them aboard the Ships, and made *John Serrano* Captain of the *Conception*. As soon as those Men were recover'd, *Magellan* gave Orders to refit the Ships, and for their greater Security ashore, though they had seen no *Indian* as yet, built a Stone House, where the Forge was fix'd. Here the Men suffer'd so much by the Snow, that three of them lost the use of their Hands, for that River is in forty-nine Degrees Latitude, and somewhat better, and the Days were very short. The Admiral sent four Men well arm'd up the Country, directing them to erect a Cross at thirty Leagues distance, and if they met with any Inhabitants, and the Soil was good, to stay there; who finding no People, nor Water, but a mere Desert, return'd. When the Ships had been

in that Bay two Months, six *Indians* appear'd, and made Signs that they would go aboard. The Skiff went for them, and when aboard the Admiral, he order'd them a Kettle of Pottage made of broken Bisket to eat, which would have satisfy'd twenty *Spaniards*, but those six eat it all, being so large, that the least of them was much bigger and taller than the properest Man in *Spain*. They were cloath'd in Mantles made of Skins, their Arms large Bows, and the Points of their Arrows of sharp Flints. When they had eaten, and seen the Ships, they said they would be gone, and were set ashore. The next Day two *Indians* came and brought a Doe, their Mantles being made of such Skins. *Magellan* gave them two red Jackets, and they went away well pleas'd. The next Day one came with a Doe, and said, he would be a Christian. They gave him the Name of *John Giant*, and he seeing some Mice thrown into the Sea, ask'd for them, because he would eat them, and for the Space of six Days he carry'd ashore all the Mice that were kill'd, and then return'd no more.

DURING the Space of above twenty Days, no *Indians* were seen, and at length four of those that had been there before return'd. *Magellan* order'd two of them to be kept aboard, to carry them into *Spain*, and the other two were set ashore. Some Fires being seen at Midnight, seven Men were sent at break of Day to search that place; who finding no People, follow'd by the Track on the Snow, till Sun-set, when being about to return, they saw nine *Indian* Archers naked, with each three Parcels of Arrows hanging at a Leather Girdle, one before, and the other two on their Sides, and another Thong about their Heads with three other Parcels of Arrows, that being their Custom in War. They attack'd the *Spaniards*, who had but one Musket, and were so dextrous at shooting their Arrows, that they kill'd one of them, and had it not

been for their Targets, they had all perish'd; however they clos'd, and with their Swords put them to Flight, with many Women that lay conceal'd in a Valley. Then returning to the Station of the *Indians*, they found much Flesh half raw, with which they loaded themselves, and retiring into the Wood, suppd at a Fire they made. *Magellan* was very sorry for the Death of the *Spaniard*, and sent twenty Men to bury him, and either take or kill the *Indians*; but though they travell'd about eight Days, they found none, and having bury'd the dead Man, return'd. The five Winter Months, that is *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, and *August* being over, *Magellan* order'd the Ships to be made ready to sail, and upon a good Observation found the Latitude to be forty-nine Degrees eighteen Minutes. When all Things were ready, *John de Cartagena* and the *French* Clergyman were set ashore with a good Stock of Bread and Wine, all the rest much pitying them, and then the Ships sail'd out of the Bay of St. *Julian* on the 24th of *August*, this Year 1520, and proceeded to the River of *Santa Cruz*, or the Holy Cross, which had been discover'd by *John Serrano*, and there they continu'd all *September* and *October*, taking Abundance of Fish. Whilst they were in that River, on the 11th of *October*, they observ'd the Eclipse of the Sun, which hapned on that Meridian, at eight Minutes past Ten of the Clock in the Morning. When the Sun was come into the Altitude of forty-three Degrees and a half, his Brightness faded, and turn'd to a dusky Colour, inflam'd into a dark Red, without any intermediate Cloud, between the Eye and the Body of the Sun; yet not so as to have his Body quite darkned, either in the whole, or in Parts, but only the Brightness of it look'd, as it does in *Spain* in the Months of *July* and *August*, when Stubble is burning near at Hand, and this continu'd till he arriv'd at

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the Latitude of forty-four Degrees and a half, when the full Brightness return'd.

THE Ships departed out of that River at the end of *October*, and coasted along to the Southward, with much Difficulty, by reason of the bad Weather, proceeding to Cape *Virgins*, so call'd by *Magellan*, because discover'd on the Feast of St. *Ursula*. Thinking there was a great Depth, he sent two Ships severally to view it, with Orders to return in five Days. They did so, and the one reported, that they had found nothing but some Bays of Shoal Water, with very high Banks. The others said, that was a Streight, because they had sail'd three Days, without finding any End, the farther they advanc'd, the more the Sea drove, and somerimes when they cast the Lead they found no Bottom, besides that the Currents being stronger than the Ebb, that Arm of the Sea or Streight must of Necessity go farther. *Magellan* having heard the Account given by both Ships, and gone a League up the Streight, came to an Anchor, and sent a Skiff with ten Men ashore, to discover what there was. At about a Quarter of a Mile distance they found a House, in which there were above twenty Graves of *Indians*, for it is their Custom to come to the Sea Coast in the Summer, and there they bury those that dye; and in the Winter they go up the Country. At their return, they saw a prodigious large Whale dead, near the Shore, and Abundance of Bones of them, whence they concluded that was a very tempestuous Place. On the 28th of *October*, being three Leagues to the Westward of Cape St. *Severin*, upon an Observation they found the Latitude fifty-two Degrees fifty-six Minutes South. Hereupon, it being then the beginning of *November*, the Length of the Nights only five Hours, and the Arm of the Sea or Streight lying East and West, *Magellan* concluding it was what he sought after, was resolv'd to take a further View, and to that

Effect

22 The HISTORY of *America*.

Effect sent the Ship *St. Antony*, which pass'd into the *South-Sea*, and return'd to the great Joy of the Admiral and all his Men.

THEN *Magellan* summon'd the Captains, Pilots, and other prime Men to Council, and order'd them to compute what Store of Provisions they had, concluding there was a certain Passage to the *Molucco* Islands. There being still sufficient Provisions for three Months, and he so full of Courage, the Generality concluded, that it was fit to proceed, and finish what they were about, not thinking it proper to return into *Spain* in a pitiful Condition, when they had been out seven Months. *Stephen Gomez*, Pilot of the Ship *St. Antony* answer'd, That since they had found the Streight to pass through to the *Molucco* Islands, they should return to *Spain* to bring other Ships, because they were to cross a large Ocean, and if they should meet with any Calms, or Storms, they must all perish. *Magellan* very sedately told him, that he would go on, though he was sure to eat the Hides that were about the Yard Arms, and discover what he had promis'd the Emperor, for he hop'd that God would assist, and give him good Success. He then order'd Proclamation to be made aboard the Ships, that no Man should presume on Pain of Death to talk of the Voyage, or of the Provisions, because he was resolv'd to sail the next Morning, and therefore order'd the Ships to be ready, wherein he show'd much Discretion, and Resolution, for as much as the Men began to waver upon the Opinion of *Stephen Gomez*, who was look'd upon as a very able Sailor. It was here observ'd that the Country was very sharp and cold, and because they saw many Fires in the Night, he call'd it *Tierra del Fuego*, that is the Land of Fire.

The next Morning the Ships sail'd, and advanc'd fifty Leagues along the Streight, the Lands on both Sides

Sides appearing very beautiful. In some Places the Breadth of it was somewhat better than a Musket Shot, and in others it form'd very fine Bays, yet for the most part the Breadth seem'd to be about a small Cannon Shot. When pass'd those fifty Leagues, they enter'd between some Mountains cover'd with Snow, except upon the Edges of the Streight, where there were great Woods of tall Trees of several Sorts. Perceiving that another Arm of the Sea turn'd off among certain Mountains, he order'd the Ship St. *Antony* to go that Way upon Discovery, and to return in 3 Days. When gone, the Admiral advanc'd one Day with the other Ships, and came to an Anchor to wait for the Ship St. *Antony*, and lying there six Days took Abundance of Pilchards, and Olave Fishes, wooded, and water'd, and the Wood when burnt was so sweet that it delighted all the Men. The six Days being past, he sent the Ship *Victory* in Quest of the St. *Antony*, which not being found in three Days, he went himself with the three Ships to seek it, tho' *Andrew* of St. *Martin* advis'd him not to trouble himself, because he believ'd that Ship was gone back to *Spain*. However he spent six Days in seeking after it, and being concern'd for want of the Provisions, held on his Voyage, and it pleas'd God, that when he had been twenty Days in that narrow Gut, on the 27th of *November*, he came out into the spacious *South Sea*, blessing God, who had been pleas'd to permit him to find what he so much desir'd, being the first that ever went that way, which will perpetuate his Memory for ever. They guess'd this Streight to be about one hundred Leagues in Length, and to lye in the Latitude aforesaid. Coming out of it, they perceiv'd the Land bear away to the Northward, which they look'd upon as a good Sign, tho' the Sea was very Black and Boisterous, which denoted a vast Ocean. *Magellan* order'd publick
Thankf-

24 The HISTORY of *America*.

Thanksgiving, and sail'd away to the Northward, to get out of the Cold.

The Ship *St. Antony* return'd to seek for *Magellan*, and not finding him, fir'd some Guns, and made Smoaks, and tho' nobody answer'd, Capt. *Alvaro de Mezquita*, would have gone on in Quest of the Admiral; but the Pilot *Stephen Gomez*, a Portuguese, and *Ferome Guerra*, whom *Magellan* had appointed Treasurer, seiz'd, wounded, and kept him confin'd on Pretence that he had advis'd *Magellan* to execute the Persons before spoken of. They made *Guerra* Captain of the Ship, and directed their Course for *Guinea*, to return to *Spain*. *Magellan* steering his Course to the Northward was in a great Storm, till the 18th of *December*, when they were in the Latitude of thirty-two Degrees twenty Minutes, then the Admiral gave Order to steer North-West, and West-North-West, till they should come near to the Equinoctial. The 24th of *December*, upon an Observation, they found twenty-six Degrees two Minutes of South Latitude, having held that Course above thirty Days, without seeing any Land, with much Hardship, for Provisions grew so short, that they were fed by Ounces, and drank stinking Water. Besides boiling their Rice in Sea Water, which was the Death of twenty Men, and as many more fell sick. At length they discover'd two small Islands, not inhabited, which they call'd *las Desventuradas*, or the Wretched, because they found in them neither Inhabitants, nor Comfort, nor any Refreshment.



C H A P. III.

Of the City of Panama, and the Country about it ; the War there between the Cazique Urraca, and Peter Arias de Avila.

WE must now leave *Magellan*, to return to the Isthmus of *America*, where *Panama* began to grow up into a City, for several Reasons before spoken of, and because the Harbour is very spacious, where the Ships upon the Ebb are left dry. The Circumference of the City is small by reason of a Morass that encloses it on one Side, and the Damps that rise from it render the Place very unhealthy. It stretches out from East to West, so that when the Sun rises there is no going along the Streets, because there is no Shade, and the Heat is so offensive that it occasions many Distempers. Tho' it has been several Times propos'd to remove it to some better Place, it has not been done on Account of the great Price the Houses bear, and that the antient Inhabitants are dead, and such as live there now are generally Traders, who design to stay no longer than till they can feather their Nests. A River runs near the City, and the District is large, in which there are many Farms, and great Store of Black Cattle, the Soil being proper for them. Several Sorts of *Spanish* Fruit have been planted, and there are others of the Country very good, as Pine Apples, Plantans, Guayabas, besides others about the Fields. The Rivers afford Gold, and very much was found upon the first building of the City. It is plentifully supply'd with Provisions, being furnish'd from both Seas. Neither Wheat, nor Barley grows within its

District, but there is much *Mayz*, or *Indian Corn*, and Meal is carry'd from *Spain* and *Peru*. There is good Fish in the Rivers, and in the Sea, tho' different from what is usual in *Spain*. Near the Houses along the Coast there are vast quantities of Cockles, by the Natives call'd *Chucha*, and it is thought that for the sake of them the *Spaniards* at first built the City there, as being some Supply in Time of Want. In the Rivers of this Province there is an immense Number of Alligators, so large that they are hideous to look at; and one has been found in the River of *St. George*, that was twenty-five Foot long. The Flesh of them, which the *Spaniards* were wont to eat, for want of better, when they were upon their Discoveries, is bad, and ill scented. The Creatures themselves are fierce, and frightful, and have devour'd many *Spaniards* and *Indians*, and Horses crossing Rivers. There are few of the Natives in the Territory of this City, having been consum'd by Diseases. The Trade there is extraordinary great and rich, Ships coming in from *Peru*, laden with Gold and Silver. The Commodities carry'd from *Spain* aboard the Fleets, are convey'd thither on numerous Teams kept for that Purpose, a considerable part being sent up the River *Chagre*, to within five Leagues of *Panama*, which lies between eight and nine Degrees of Latitude. This Place being considerable, the King order'd many Religious Men to be sent over to convert the *Indians*, and made it a Bishoprick.

Peter Arias the Governour, and *Espinosa* his chief Alcalde were attentive to warlike Affairs, and subduing of the *Indians*. Among the great Men that oppos'd the *Spaniards*, and refus'd to submit to the King of *Spain*, was one call'd *Urraca*, Lord of the Neighbouring Mountains of *Veragua*, who was so bold, and active in War, that he never fail'd of killing some *Spaniards*

in every Encounter they had. *Espinosa* sail'd from *Panama* with two Ships well mann'd, and furnish'd with all Necessaries, besides two or three Horses, and proceeded down the Western Coast, to subdue the Inhabitants of the Islands call'd *de Zebaco*, being above thirty great and small, sixty Leagues from *Panama*. *Francis Pizarro* march'd by Land, with another Party, who had many Actions with the *Indians*, and at length disabled, and subdu'd them. *Espinosa* coming to the Islands, all the People met him in a peaceable Manner, not daring to oppose him. Enquiring among other Things, whether there was any Gold, they answer'd, there was very much on the Mountains, where *Urraca* govern'd, pointing to them with their Fingers. Upon this Advice, he pass'd over his Men to those Parts, and *Urraca* from his Mountains spying the Ships about the Sea, and concluding the *Spaniards* would soon be with him, was in readiness, having secur'd the Women and Children. When his Spies brought him Advice, that the *Spaniards* were advancing towards him, he march'd forward to meet them with wonderful Bravery. He first met some *Indians* the *Spaniards* had sent before, whom he slew, and then fell upon the Horsemen, who with the Foot kill'd and wounded very many, yet still they enclos'd the *Spaniards*, and press'd them very hard. *Pizarro* had sent *Ferdinand de Soto* with thirty Men, to make an Incursion near by, where they heard the Shouts, and Noise of the Battle, and hasted to it, when the *Indians* seeing that unexpected Succour, drew back a little. The Ruggedness of the Ground was a great Help to them, because the *Spaniards* could make no use of their Horses, which was a great Disadvantage, for the *Indians* wanted neither Courage, nor Strength. *Espinosa* perceiving how little was to be then got by *Urraca*, resolv'd to retire in the Night, with as much Privacy as possible; but

Urraca being extraordinary watchful, discover'd that the *Spaniards* were breaking up, and pursu'd till he got them in a dangerous Pass, where he most furiously kept them in Play. Then *Espinosa* and *Pizarro* told their Men, that was the Time, when they who had overcome so many Difficulties and Dangers, must exert their Valour; and they giving a fresh Onset, with incredible Toil and Bravery made their Way through, and looking upon it as no small Mercy to have escap'd Peril, they embark'd aboard the Ships.

THEY sail'd down along the Coast to one of the above-mention'd Islands, which they call'd *St Mary's*, and then Landed near by it in the Province of *Borraca*. An infinite Number of *Indians* came out to oppress them, but seeing the Horses, and concluding they would devour them, they all fled. The *Spaniards* pursu'd, enter'd the Town, took the Women and Children, and plunder'd the Place, the Lord whereof, seeing so many Prisoners carry'd away, and looking upon the loss of them as more grievous than that of his own Liberty, repair'd to *Espinosa*, and intreated him to restore his Women and Children, which he generously did. Being inform'd by him, that there was another Lord near by, he sent *Francis Companon* thither, with fifty Men, who attacking the Town before Break of Day, found the Inhabitants so ready to receive him, that the *Spaniards* were forc'd to retire for a considerable Space; till being asham'd of what they did, and sensible of their Danger, they drove the *Indians* back to the Town, which they had fortify'd with Palisades, where they kill'd many of them, as they throng'd together to get in. They return'd to *Espinosa*, with many Prisoners, and he went by Land to attack the People of the aforesaid Province, ordering the Ships to make that Way, and the Natives being upon their Guard, came out to meet the *Spaniards*, fighting with
incredible

incredible Valour ; but as soon as they spy'd the Hor-
ses all of them dispers'd, whereupon *Espinosa* return'd
to *Pariqueta*. That Country of *Pariqueta*, or *Nata*,
being open, fruitful, plain and agreeable, and enclos'd
with the Mountains of *Urraca*, or *Veragua*, always re-
puted to abound in Gold, *Espinosa* was much inclin'd to
settle a Colony there, bringing all the *Indians* to it from
the adjacent Parts. He ask'd leave so to do of *Peter*
Arias, who granted it, but said, he would be present
when it was done, and in order to it, directed him to
repair to *Panama*, leaving *Companion* in that Place, with
fifty Men, and two Mares. When *Espinosa* was gone,
King *Urraca* being inform'd how few Men were left
there, assembled his Forces, and marching to attack
them by Night, his advanc'd Parties found three *Spa-*
niards in a House at a Distance from the rest, one of
whom they kill'd with a Spear, took another, and the
third hid himself, till having recover'd his Arms, he
cry'd out, and made a Noise, as if there had been several
Men, and then falling on the *Indians*, kill'd five of them,
and setting the other *Spaniard* at Liberty, in that Con-
sternation of the *Indians*, they both fled to their Com-
mander *Companion*. He understanding what a Power
Urraca had with him, sent *Ferdinand de Soto*, and after
him *Peter Miguel*, two nimble Men to acquaint *Peter*
Arias with the Danger he was in, who immediately
sent *Herman Ponce* with forty Men in a Ship, and he
arriv'd at the Time when *Companion* was for quitting
the Country, because *Urraca* had drawn together all
the Inhabitants of those Provinces, and kept the *Spa-*
niards so close confin'd, that they could not go abroad
to get Roots to eat. *Urraca* seeing the Ships, and conclu-
ding that all the Men of *Panama* were aboard it, rais'd
his Blockade. *Peter Arias* arriving soon after, resolv'd
to pursue him with one hundred and fifty Men, and
some small Guns, taking *Pizarro* for Captain of his
Guard.

Guard. *Urraca* waited his coming, with another Lord, whose Name was *Exquegua*, at a strong Pass. *Peter Arias* observing the Advantage the Enemy had in the Ground, and their great Numbers, and not knowing how to avoid the Engagement, though he would willingly have done it, said, so loud as to be heard by all his Men, That the Danger they were in was very great, and since their Safety depended upon their own Hands, they should call to mind the antient Valour, and martial Discipline of the *Spanish* Nation, which was then to be made use of, for unless they did so, they must certainly that Moment lose their Honour, and all that they had gain'd; and since in Martial Affairs, Bravery, and Skill in War always prevail'd above the Multitude and Courage of the Barbarians, they should be cautious to observe Order in Fighting, without breaking their Ranks, for by that Means he hop'd to bring them off, and vanquish the Enemy, whom he was resolv'd immediately to attack, for it was certain it would be for their Advantage, if he stay'd till they fell upon him with all their Forces. This said, they gave the Charge, and the Fight lasted almost all the Day, many being kill'd and wounded. *Peter Arias* finding himself much streightned, had recourse to the last Shift, which was firing the Cannon, and that quite broke the *Indians*. However *Urraca* was not discourag'd, for during four Days successively, he never ceas'd to make fresh Attacks, and *Peter Arias* to avoid engaging, took all Advantages of Ground, and others to secure himself. At length *Urraca* perceiving that the Conduct of the Commander, and the Bravery of the Soldiers disappointed all his Designs, he thought fit to retire, to gather more Forces, and fortify himself on the River *Atra*, whether many *Indians* resorted to him from both Seas.

Peter Arias resolv'd to follow, hoping to take him; but *Urraca* made use of a Strategem to deceive him, leaving

leaving behind some *Indians*, as if they had been Stragglers to be taken by the *Spanish* advanc'd Parties ; which he did, because he knew they would enquire after Gold, and go to seek for it in small Numbers, so that having laid Ambushes in certain Places, he might cut them off. The Prisoners said as *Urraca* had directed them, and *Peter Arias* sent *James de Albitez* with forty Men, who falling into the Ambushes were all hurt, and forc'd to fly. *Arias* again sent the same *Albitez* with sixty Men, who not finding the *Indians* on the Mountain, return'd by the Plain, where they met the *Indians*, who fell upon them with hideous Cries, defending a narrow Pass the River made with such Valour, that many were wounded on both Sides. In conclusion, after a long Struggle, the *Spaniards* prevail'd, and pursuing their Enemies, slew many of them. *Arias* who was undaunted, being resolv'd to put an End to that War, sent several Parties about the Country, and particularly to make War with *Bulaba* and *Musa*, two Lords that had assisted *Urraca*, whom he would not then press too hard, for fear of incensing him the more. Being willing to reward the *Spaniards*, who had endur'd so much in those Parts, he resolv'd to build the Town of *Nata*, that was begun, being so call'd from the Name of the Cazique of that District, and accordingly regulated, assigning every one of those that were willing to stay there a certain Number of *Indians* in the neighbouring Towns. Having finish'd that Affair, and appointed *Albitez* his Lieutenant there, he return'd to *Panama*. The *Indians* so given to the *Spaniards* serv'd in Building their Houses, tilling the Ground, and fishing for the Townsmen, who were about sixty in Number ; and this they so much resented, that some of them went late, others neglected it, and others fled. *Albitez* sent after them, punish'd some, and conniv'd at others. King *Urraca* never omitted attacking the *Spaniards*, when he had an

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32 *The HISTORY of America.*

Opportunity, sometimes by Night, and sometimes by Day, and those that hapned not to be upon their Guard, never miss'd of falling into his Hands. The *Spaniards* on their Part made Inroads into *Urraca's* Country, burning and destroying it, and thus they supported themselves with much Difficulty. We will now return to *New Spain*.

C H A P. IV.

Forces sent by James Velasquez against Cortes, under Panfilo de Narvaez; Cortes proposes an Accommodation, which is rejected.

THE Governour *James Velasquez* highly resented the Trick put upon him by *Cortes*, and the more for hearing of the great Success he met with, and the immense Wealth of the Country discover'd, without any Acknowledgment paid to him, who had been at so great an Expence for the Fleet. Whereupon he fitted out another, under the Command of *Panfilo de Narvaez*, which consisted of eleven Ships, and seven Brigantines, and gave him the Title of Governour of *New Spain*, with particular Instructions to send *Cortes* Prisoner to *Cuba*. The King's Council at *Hispaniola*, being told of this Commission, sent *Lucas Vasquez*, to obstruct that Enterprize, as well to prevent a civil War in the Nation, as the unpeopling of the Island; but he not being able to prevail, would go himself in the Fleet, as accordingly he did. *Narvaez* set sail, and near the Mountains of *St. Martin* lost a small Ship, which was drove ashore by a strong North Wind.

In

The HISTORY of *America*. 33

In *April*, this Year 1520, he arriv'd at the Island of *Sacrifices*, where three of the Soldiers Captain *Pizarro* had left at *Chinantly* resorted to him, and were well receiv'd, because they rail'd against *Cortes*. They also told him how far off the Colony of *Villa Rica* lay, where *Gonzalo de Sandoval* resided for *Cortes*, and that if he sent some Forces, they would immediately Surrender, being only seventy Soldiers, and those good for little. *Narvaez* accordingly sent *John Ruyz de Guevara*, a Clergyman, and a Gentleman call'd *Amaya*, with *Alonso de Vergara*, a Notary, and Credentials to *Sandoval*, that he might submit to him, purposing to produce his Commission at the proper Time and Place. He then resolv'd to Land on the Coast of *Zempoala*, and was no sooner arriv'd there than *Moteczuma* had Notice of it, about a Week after the Persons sent from *Mexico* to build Ships for *Cortes* to be gone, came to *Villa Rica*. His Officers having sent him all the Particulars in Painting, which was instead of Letters, he call'd *Cortes*, who having been bid to depart the Country was afraid of some Commotion, and therefore told his Men, " They must take Notice that the King had sent for him, not like a Prisoner, but with the Authority of a Sovereign, who had them in his Power, which he did not look upon as a good Sign ; that they should put their Trust in God, and be upon their Guard." They answer'd, " That as long as he was their Commander, they were satisfied, and under no Apprehensions." He then went away to *Moteczuma*, who in a Princely Tone, said to him, " Be it known to you, Captain, that some Ships are come from your Country, which may carry you away ; therefore make your self ready, as soon as possible, for so it must be." *Cortes* answer'd, " That though he was sorry for it, he would readily comply, for his Satisfaction ; but that the Ships he had order'd to be built were not yet

VOL. III. F " begun,

“ begun, and he would do it as soon as they were
 “ finish’d.” *Moteczuma* reply’d, “ That eighteen
 “ Sail were on the Coast of *Zempoala*, and he should
 “ soon know whether they had landed any Men, and
 “ would then tell him what they were.” *Cortes* was
 very well pleas’d, return’d Thanks to God, and sent to
 his Men, to bid them be of good Heart, since after
 they had been five Months at *Mexico*, they had Sup-
 plies come to carry on their Enterprize. Another
 Express came, show’d in Painting, and related by
 Word of Mouth, that eighty-five Horses, eight hun-
 dred Foot, and twelve Pieces of Cannon were landed.
Moteczuma embrac’d *Cortes*, saying he lov’d him bet-
 ter than ever, and invited him to Dinner. Some are
 of Opinion, that he did so believing *Cortes* to be
 stronger. They din’d together in a merry manner,
 the one Party thinking themselves safer by the Arrival
 of those Ships, and the other concluding they should
 be quit of their Guests. Some say *Moteczuma* was ad-
 vis’d, to kill those *Spaniards*, since he had them in his
 Power, before they join’d the new Comers; and that
 he debated it in his Council, where it was agreed, that
 it would be a glorious Action to permit them to join,
 and then vanquish and sacrifice them all.

Sandoval had immediate Notice of the Arrival of
 the Fleet, and sent every Hour to view it. He drew
 out of his Garrison the useless Men, whom he sent to
 an *Indian* Town; the rest offer’d to dye for *Cortes*,
 which when they had done, he order’d a Gallows to
 be set up, and then the Sentinels acquainted him, that
 six *Spaniards* were come near the Town, with some
Indians of *Cuba*. He waited for them in his House,
 giving Orders that none should speak to them; and
 they finding nobody to talk to, but some *Indians* that
 work’d at the Fortifications, went to the Church, and
 from thence to *Sandoval*’s House, because it was the
 best. *Guevara*, the Clergyman saluted him, and made
 a long

a long Harangue, repeating the Expences *Velasquez* had been at, and the Right he had, and requiring all there to go and submit themselves to *Panfilo de Narvaez*, who was arriv'd with that Fleet from the Adelantado *Velasquez*, and he took too much Liberty in his Expressions. *Sandoval* told him, That *Cortes*, and all the others that were with him in *New Spain*, were the King's Loyal Subjects, and Servants, and if he had not been a Clergyman, he would have made him sensible of it. The Clergyman order'd the Notary to produce his Credentials, and other Papers he carry'd, and to read, and notify them. *Sandoval* bid them go to *Mexico* to *Cortes*, who would give them an Answer; and the Clergyman insisting, that they should be notify'd, he caus'd him and his Companions to be seiz'd, and sent them away to *Mexico* in Net Hamacks, carry'd by *Indians*, under the Direction of *Peter de Solis*, as *Alguazil*. They reach'd that City in four Days, travelling Day and Night; the *Indians* that carry'd them every now and then relieving one another, whilst they were amaz'd at what had befallen them. *Sandoval* writ how Matters stood, and *Cortes*, as soon as they came near to *Mexico* order'd them to be unbound, sent Horses to bring them in, and was very kind to them.

UPON the first Advice *Motexuma* receiv'd of the Arrival of *Narvaez*, he sent Order to his Governours, and other Officers to be kind to those Forces, to supply them with Provisions, and make Presents to their Commander in Chief; who with all Speed landed his Men, and Stores, and took up his Quarters at *Zempoala*, sending three Soldiers that had resorted to him, being Men that knew the Country, to tell the People that he was the King of *Spain's* true General, whereas *Cortes* had usurp'd that Post. The same he said to the Lord of *Zempoala*, adding, that if *Cortes* had done any thing amiss, he would punish him. This Lord in-

form'd him, that he had vanquish'd the *Tlascallans*, and they were become his Friends, that he had confin'd *Moteczuma*, burnt *Couatlopoca*, depos'd *Cacamazin*, and that in short he was very powerful. He answer'd, he was glad of his Success, look'd upon him as his Son, and would go to assist him. He next apply'd himself to quarter his Men, and the Lord of *Zempoala* was extraordinary kind, thinking him to be the Father of the Man he so much honour'd. *Moteczuma* without acquainting *Cortes*, sent *Narvaez* a considerable Present, promising him his Friendship, thinking if there was any Division between them, it would be to his Advantage, and if they were unanimous, his best Way to carry on his Designs was to impose on them. *Narvaez* return'd him many Thanks, offering to rescue him out of the Oppression he was under, and to punish the Disrespect shown him; but was highly provok'd at *Sandoval's* sending his Men Prisoners to *Mexico*.

BEFORE *Cortes* had receiv'd the Letters from *Sandoval*, when *Moteczuma* acquainted him with the Arrival of the Fleet, he was very thoughtful, believing that Force was too much for a Supply, and rather concluded it was against him. Soon after, his Letters arriv'd, and with them the Prisoners *Sandoval* had sent, whom he treated so well, that they told him all they knew, and he resolv'd to send them back, to give *Narvaez* an Account of the vast Cities there were in the Country, and the Multitude of People; and thereupon to represent to him, that if they were divided among themselves they could never stand their Ground, which would be prejudicial to the Service of God, and the King; to take notice how well he had entertain'd them, that he look'd upon *Narvaez* to be so worthy a Gentleman, as to hearken to Reason, and be satisfy'd with what he could do to oblige him, and in case he would riot, to assure him that those he had with him would sell what they had got very dear. He desir'd them in
private,

private, to tell the prime Men of *Narvaez's* Forces, that there was immense Wealth in *Mexico*, which he would be glad to share with them. He writ a Letter to *Narvaez*, gave the Clergyman and his Companions good Jewels, and when they were gone bethought himself to write a Letter in the Name of all his Men, thinking since he had so few, it was requisite to use all possible Means to avoid coming to Blows. They offer'd to serve and obey him, praying that there might be Unity among them, because Division would be prejudicial to them all, and obstruct the King's Service.

THREE Days after the Departure of the Clergyman *Guevara*, and his Companions, *Cortes* dispatch'd F. *Bartholomew de Olmedo*, who was a crafty Man, well spoken, and of good Judgment, with two other *Spaniards*, and Credentials to *Narvaez*, to assure him of his good Intentions, and propose some Method of Accommodation; and in case he found him not inclin'd to it, to let him know, that tho' *Cortes* had but few Men, he had more Power, as being acquainted with the Country, and having good Interpreters, who gain'd him the Affection of the *Indians*; that *Moteczuma*, who lorded it over all that Country, honour'd him in publick, and in private told him all that pass'd. He was to desire *Narvaez* to forbear giving ill Language, and in case he would not admit of Peace, he should, in the Presence of as many Witnesses as he could, protest that all the Mischiefs which might happen to ensue should lye at his Door. The Letter F. *Olmedo* carry'd was much to the same Effect as his former. *Cortes* also writ to his Friend *Andrew de Duero*, and to the Judge *Lucas Vasquez*, and sent them considerable Presents of Gold, besides much he gave to the Frier, for him to dispose of where he thought it would turn to the best Account. *Narvaez's* Friends differ'd in Opinion, tho' most advis'd him to treat about an Accommodation;

modation ; however his Positiveness obstructed it, and he told the *Indians* he was the real Commander, that he would punish *Cortes*, and when he had set them at Liberty would be gone ; which those People easily credited. Not satisfy'd with this, he sent Word to *Moteczuma*, that *Cortes* was no better than a Robber, that he was in *Mexico* against the King of *Spain's* Will, by whose Command he was come to restore all that had been taken from him, and punish those that disturb'd him. These Accounts confounded *Moteczuma*, because *Cortes* artfully smiling sometimes confess'd as much as he thought fit, and other Times conceal'd what was not fit to be known. Father *Olmedo* arriv'd at *Zempoala*, with a Gunner, whose Name was *Usagre*, Brother to one that was with *Narvaez*, to whom and other Friends he faithfully distributed what *Cortes* had given him for that Purpose ; as did Father *Olmedo*, with *Andrew de Duero*, and *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, and *Vasquez* and *Olmedo* aiming at the same Thing, they soon agreed. The Father spoke with *Narvaez*, deliver'd his Letter, he call'd his Friends to advise what was to be done, and every one gave his Opinion as led by the prevailing Passion. *Bernardin de Santa Clara*, not only advis'd, but requir'd *Narvaez* to adjust Differences, to avoid coming to a Rupture, and to forbear speaking ill of *Cortes*, who always treated him with much Civility. The Licenciate *Ayllon* seconded him, threatening Loss of Life and Goods, since their Contention was injurious to the Service of God and the King ; for he declar'd that it was his Opinion that *Narvaez* rather aim'd at revenging *James Velasquez*, than at promoting the King's Interest.

Narvaez observing that *Ayllon* obstructed his Designs, put him, and a Notary, and Alguazil of the Council aboard a Caravel, and sent them away to *Cuba*, pretending that the first of them would be wanted in the Council, tho' at the same Time he writ to *James Velasquez*,

lasquez, to acquaint him with the real Motives that had induc'd him so to do, giving him an Account of the great Actions *Cortes* had perform'd, and how much he was generally belov'd. *Ayllon* manag'd so well with the Sailors, that he perswaded them to carry him to *Santo Domingo*, where opening *Narvaez's* Dispatches, he found the whole Intrigue, and acquainted the Court or Council with it. *Narvaez* being rid of *Ayllon*, rashly threatned *Santa Clara*, if he durst to speak amiss of him, or make Divisions in his Forces. Next he declar'd War against *Cortes*, calling him Traytor, and Usurper of that Country, at the same Time promising a Reward to any Person that should kill or take him, and others of his Commanders, which was incensing of those that did not love him before. *Peter de Villalobos*, a *Portuguese*, and seven other Soldiers, were the first that deserted to *Villa Rica*, and brought the Hands of others that offer'd to serve *Cortes*, of which, and all other Particulars, *Sandoval* daily sent him Advice. One Malecontent Soldier of *Cortes's* Forces deserted to *Narvaez*. Captain *Salvatierra*, being an intimate Friend to *Narvaez*, and one of those that most threatned *Cortes*, bid the former take notice, that the Frier *Olmedo* did much Mischief among the Forces, for which Reason he thought fit to secure him, but *Andrew de Duero* obstructed it, alledging, That the Frier was a Messenger, and it would be a foul Action to do so, that there had been other Extravagancies enough committed, without adding that to the rest, besides that he ought to be respected as a Religious Man. Hereupon *Narvaez* forbore, the Frier proceeded in his Practices, and *Cortes's* Friends advis'd *Narvaez* to have an Interview with him. *Sandoval* being a vigilant Person, observ'd all the Motions of the new Comers, and sent from *Villa Rica* two *Spaniards*, cloath'd like *Indians*, to carry Fruit and Greens to barter. They observ'd all that

that was worth it in the Army, without being known, because they spoke the *Mexican* Tongue very well, and at their Return, finding Captain *Salazar's* Horse unguarded, they carry'd him away to *Vera Cruz*, to his great Vexation, and their Diverſion. *Narvaez* thought fit to answer *Cortes's* Letter, acquainting him that he had regal Authority for ſecuring that Country to *James Velasquez*, and adviſing him to quit it peaceab'y, or he would ſuffer for it. *Cortes* revolving with himſelf what was beſt to be done in his Condition, offer'd *Narvaez* to meet him, with only ten or twenty Friends, and either to quit *Mexico* to him and march away with three hundred *Spaniards* upon new Discoveries, or elſe to ſtay in *Mexico*, and ſend him Supplies, if he would march away into other Provinces. *Narvaez* would not liſten to any of theſe Propoſals, whereupon *Cortes* ſignify'd to him, that two Cocks ſhould not crow upon one Dunghil, and therefore he might make ready to decide that Quarrel by Blows, beginning himſelf to make ready for his March to him.

WHILST *Cortes* was ruminating about marching out againſt *Narvaez*, he had order'd his Men to be in Readineſs, and ſent a Soldier to *Chinantla*, where *Barrientos* was to furniſh three hundred Pikes, becauſe thoſe *Indians* uſ'd them a Fathom longer than thoſe made in *Spain*, that each of them ſhould have two Spears of Copper, inſtead of the Flints the Natives uſ'd, and that two thouſand Men of that Nation ſhould come to his Aſſiſtance, all which was readily comply'd with, and the Spears, or Points made nicer than the Pattern that had been ſent. Being then fully reſolv'd to march out againſt *Narvaez*, he order'd every Captain to enquire of his Men, who were moſt willing to march, and which of them had rather ſtay. He appointed *Peter de Alvarado* to command in *Mexico*, with one hundred and fifty Men, charging him to pay *Moteczuma* the

the greatest Respect, and the Soldiers to live peaceably, since at that Time it was more dangerous than ever to provoke the *Indians*; besides he enjoin'd all the Commanders and Soldiers that were to stay, to be very obedient to *Alvarado*, and do their Duty in all Respects, promising to relieve them, if there was Occasion.

The End of the Seventh Book.



VOL. III.

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THE



THE
General HISTORY
Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of
A M E R I C A, &c.

D E C A D. II. B O O K VIII.

C H A P. I.

*Cortes marches against Narvaez, attacks,
routs, and takes him Prisoner; what hap-
ned afterwards,*



CORTES being resolv'd to lose no Time in
Marching out against *Narvaez*, thought fit
to acquaint *Morezuma*, which he did, in
the most obliging Manner, and receiv'd a
suitable Answer from that Monarch, who at his Depart-
ture from *Mexico* bore him Company, being carry'd
on the Shoulders of his Noblemen, attended by *Alva-
rado*, and all the Gentry of the City, with all the
Royal Musick, and other Tokens of Grandeur, say-
ing

ing, he would see him out of the City, which *Cortes* by all Means endeavour'd to avoid; but he would go as far as the Causeway of *Papalapan*, where he took his Leave very lovingly. Many *Mexicans* went along with him; some of whom return'd because he desir'd them so to do, and others because they grew weary, and those that follow'd went to send the King Word of every Thing that hapned, as they hourly did. He was well receiv'd at *Chulula*, where the Men were refresh'd, and half a League from thence he met a great Number of *Tlascallans* coming to compliment him. He enter'd their City to the great Satisfaction of them all, and told them, that the Christian Commander he was going to meet, was his Brother, but if he was not good, he would chastize him, to which Purpose he demanded six thousand fighting Men, not that he design'd to make any Use of them, but only for the more Show, that *Narvaez* might be inform'd that all the Country was for him, and by that Means fear the Consequences. The Lords of the four Quarters offer'd him as many Men as he would have. He appointed *Alonso de Ojeda*, and *John Marquez* to command them, because they spoke the Language, and order'd them to keep in the Rear, and *Francis Rodriguez* with them. The Men were rais'd, but most of them turn'd back when they were three Leagues from Home, because they were not wont to go far out of their Country to fight. *Cortes* said, It was better that they were so soon return'd, than that they should afterwards misbehave themselves, and therefore order'd all the rest to be gone, thinking his Design was answer'd; and *Barrientos* had Notice, where he was to be with the Pikes, and the two thousand *Chinantlans*; who came exactly at the Time and Place. The Pikes were very good, and being distributed among the Soldiers, one *Tobilla* taught them how they were to be us'd. The *Chinantlans* had Pikes also, and *Cortes* order'd all the Men

44 The HISTORY of America.

to wear *Eſcaupiles*, that is, Armour made of Cotton, being sensible of the Difference there was between well arm'd Soldiers, and such as were naked. *Sandoval* likewise came to the Place assign'd him, where upon a Muster, there were found two hundred and sixty-six Men, including the Commanders, five Horsemen, and the Frier. *Cortes's* Friends that were with *Narvaez*, being inform'd that he drew near, advis'd to send *Andrew de Duero* who had an Influence over *Cortes*, to propose an Accommodation, and he press'd it so home, that he comply'd. *Duero* went and discours'd *Cortes* in private, and the Result was, that they treated one another like great Friends. When *Duero* was gone, *Cortes* order'd *John Velasquez de Leon*, who was a Relation to *Narvaez*, to go to his Camp, and take along with him his Gold Chains and all he had, besides much he gave him, having been inform'd that *Narvaez* was very desirous to see him. *Velasquez* excus'd himself, but *Cortes* would have him go, offer'd him his own grey Mare, and sent with him a Footman of his own, whose Name was *John del Rio*, and having discours'd him in private, and given him some Jewels, he departed.

Velasquez arriving at *Zempoala*, alighted at the *Cazique's* House, and from thence went to *Narvaez's* Quarters; who being inform'd that he was come, was going out to seek him, and having receiv'd him very lovingly, said, he should be his Guest. He answer'd, he must return immediately, for that he only came to kiss his Hands, and to try whether any Accommodation could be made. *Narvaez* flew into a great Passion, and said, He wonder'd he should propose to reconcile him to a Traytor, who had revolted from his Cousin *James Velasquez*. *John Velasquez* was much offended at it, and said, That such Words ought not to be spoke in his Presence, of *Cortes*, who was a very worthy Gentleman. Captain *Salvatierra*, *Gamarra*,
John

John Jusse, and other Officers, thinking that *Velasquez* took too much Liberty, advis'd *Narvaez* to secure him; but *Augustin Bermudez*, who was Chief Alguazil, *Andrew de Duero* Controller to the Army and Navy, and a Clergyman, whose Name was *John de Leon* oppos'd it, and perswaded *Narvaez* to make much of and honour him; who did so, and desir'd him to perswade *Cortes* to surrender himself, and put an End to all Controversies. He offer'd to do the best he could, but said he mistrusted the Success, because he knew *Cortes* to be positive, and obstinate. *Narvaez* would have *Velasquez* see his Army, which pass'd in Review before him, and so they went to Dinner. Immediately after *Velasquez* took his Leave, thinking he had done what he came for, which was to see the Forces, speak to some particular Persons, and render *Narvaez* secure. When he was just going, a Youth, who was also Nephew to *James Velasquez*, a Captain, and of his own Name, said, That all those who did not submit themselves to *Narvaez* were Traytors, and since he went away, he was no good *Velasquez*. *John Velasquez* answer'd, that he was as good a Gentleman as himself, and would maintain there was no Traytor in *Cortes*'s Forces. Then clapping his Hand to his Sword, he ask'd Leave of *Narvaez* to make good what he had said. All the Gentlemen that were present interpos'd, desiring *Narvaez* to order *John Velasquez* to be gone, to avoid ill Accidents, because his Staying was very prejudicial. Thus he return'd to *Cortes*, who advancing very slowly, came to *Cotastla*, where he endur'd much Want. He proceeded to *Tapaniqueta*, and there found some Refreshment. The next Day two Cazi-ques came with Complaints against *Narvaez*, saying, he took what they had, ruin'd the Country, and did them no Justice; and that they would serve him, whom they look'd upon as their Lord. He condol'd with them, return'd Thanks for their good Will, and told them,

46 The History of America.

them, Those Men were not of his Race and Generation, and therefore they must quit the Place, for he would burn it with those new Comers.

AT the same Time that *Narvaez's* Friends were informing him, that *Cortes* had scatter'd much Gold in his Army, the Cazique of *Zempoala* came, and ask'd him, what he was about, adding, that when he least imagin'd it, *Cortes* would be there and kill him; for he had so many Spies that he knew every thing that was done. Tho' they made a Jest of him, the War against *Cortes* was proclaim'd, to be carry'd on with Fire and Sword, and all Plunder to belong to the Taker. *Narvaez* march'd out with his Forces and Artillery about a Quarter of a League from *Zempoala*, designing to expect *Cortes* there; but it hapning to rain all that Day, and those Men not being enur'd to Hardships, they repin'd, saying, it were proper to return to their Quarters, and not regard those few Men so much. Those who were acquainted with *Cortes's* Valour thought otherwise, and insisted that it was ill Advice to go back, *Andrew de Duero* gave *Cortes* Notice of all these Particulars by a Soldier call'd *el Galequillo*, who deserted. *Narvaez* retiring, upon the Confidence that *Cortes* durst not attack him, order'd nimble Soldiers to be posted Sentinels, on the River he was to pass; forty Horse-men to stay all the Night on the Road to *Zempoala*; twenty more to be in the Courts of his Quarters, and the Artillery, consisting of eighteen little Guns, to be planted before the Doors, and thus he thought himself secure. He then proclaim'd he would give two thousand Pieces of Eight to any Man that should kill *Cortes*, or *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and order'd a considerable Number of Musketeers, Crossbow-men, and other Soldiers with Partefans to lye in his Appartment, and the Captains *Salvatierra*, *Gamarra*, and others of his Confidants with them.

Cortes

Cortes coming to the River of Canoes, at this Time, found much Difficulty in passing it, by Reason that there was a great Flood, and two Soldiers were drowned seeking for the Ford. As soon as got over, they heard firing of Muskets in *Narvaez's* Army, which much frightened the *Indians*, who sent *Moteczuma* an Account of all his Motions, magnifying his Power, and looking upon *Cortes* as a lost Man, which was no small Satisfaction to the *Mexicans*. *Cortes* in that Place drew his Men together, and in a long Speech acquainted them with all the ill Practices of *Narvaez*; extoll'd their Valour, put them in mind of all their great Exploits, and told them they were then to fight for their Lives, for their Honour, and for their Estates, the Design of their Enemies being to make them Prisoners, and seize all they had, *John Velasquez*, *Francis de Lugo*, *James de Ordaz*, and other Commanders, answer'd, he might be assur'd, that by the Help of God, they would either conquer or die; and therefore he must take heed not to be ensnar'd by any Terms, for if any thing hapned amiss it would be his Fault. *Cortes* was overjoy'd to find his Men as courageous as when they came from *Mexico*, and pray'd them to keep their Order exactly, for as much as many great Misfortnnes often hapned for Want of it; and it was very remarkable that he never gave them the least Intimation of the Intelligence he held in the Enemy's Army, to the End his Soldiers might believe that his whole Dependance was upon their Valour. Then he said, if they thought fit, he design'd to attack the Enemy at Midnight, or before Break of Day, which was the best Method for a few to deal with a greater Number. *Alonso de Avila* answer'd, that as they had before told him, they did not desire to live without him, so that he might go when he pleas'd, and do as he thought fit, for they would be satisfy'd to die with him, being ready at all Times. As soon as *Narvaez* heard

48 *The History of America.*

heard where *Cortes* was, he sent *Gonzalo Carrasco*, a bold Man, and with him his Servant *Hurtado*, to approach as near *Cortes's* Forces as he could, and bring him Advice of his Motions. *Cortes's* Fore-runners, being *George* and *Gonzalo de Alvarado*, *Francis de Solis*, *James Pizarro*, *Francis Bonal*, and *Francis de Orofco*, met with *Carrasco*, and took him, who then spoke aloud, that *Hurtado* might make his Escape, and so he did. When brought before *Cortes*, he said to him, "How came " this Mischance, Friend, how came you to be en- " trapp'd, where was your Swiftnes?" So they made a Jest of him, and being less than half a League from *Zempoala*, he ask'd him, whither he was going, and he answer'd, that to look after an *Indian* Woman, that had been stolen from him. Other Questions and Answers pass'd between them, but *Carrasco* continu'd firm to his Party. When they were within a Quarter of a League from *Zempoala*, *Cortes* order'd the Guns and Baggage to be left in a Break, and after again encouraging his Men with few Words, promis'd three thousand Castellanos in Gold to any Man that should kill or take *Narvaez*, two thousand to the second, and one thousand to the third that should come up to him. Then they all pray'd, and *F. Olmedo* made them an Exhortation to repent of their Sins, and resolve to amend their Lives. By this Time, *Hurtado*, who as was said had made his Escape, came among *Narvaez's* Forces, crying, Arm, Arm, telling them that *Cortes* was at Hand, and *Carrasco* taken, but could give no Account of the Men, or their Number. Some said, *Cortes* could not come in such a dark rainy Night, and *Narvaez* bid *Hurtado* go to sleep, for he had certainly fancy'd it. He went away to *John Bono's* Apartment, where he said, he had seen Horses, and heard the *Spanish* Tongue, but *Bono* who it is likely was well pleas'd that *Cortes* should come, bid him hold his Peace, for he had certainly dreamt it.

Cortes

Cortes the more to justify his Proceedings, gave *Sandoval*, who was his chief Alguazil, a Warrant to secure *Narvaez*, for raising Commotions in that Country, and in Case he resisted, to kill him, requiring all his Officers and Soldiers to be aiding and assisting. Then he divided his Men into three Parties; the first under *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, which was of sixty Men; the second under *Christopher de Olid*, who was Colonel, a good Soldier, and a Man of extraordinary Strength; *Cortes* himself took the third. They had among them all seventy Pikes, made of Oak, with the Spears before-mention'd, being thirty-eight Spans in length. The Word was the Holy Ghost. He appointed *Sandoval*'s Pikes to attack *Narvaez*'s Quarters, and the rest the Cazique's House, where he was kept under a Guard, that he might not run away; and fifty Men to fall upon the Alcalde *John Juste*, and his Comrade, *Olid* was to attack *Narvaez*'s Artillery, and he to support him. The three Bodies advanc'd within a Stone's throw of one another. *Cortes* halting, intreated *Carrafco* to tell him the Disposition of *Narvaez*'s Forces, threatening to hang him, if he ly'd, and he refusing, was so near being hang'd, that his Throat was sore for some Days, and one of the Horsemen sav'd him. Being come to a Place where the Road divided it self into two, they again pray'd, put on their *Escarpiles*, or Cotton Armour, and march'd towards the Town in good Order, observing strict Silence. *John Velasquez*, then seeing a Light on high, told *Cortes*, that it was at *Narvaez*'s Quarters, and he answer'd, I am glad that the Light guides us. He commanded *Sandoval* to move directly to *Narvaez*, which was a good Choice, for he was a daring Commander, and the other Parties to guard his Flanks, and keep off any Succour that might come. *Sandoval* charg'd the Drum *Canillas*, not to beat till he order'd him, and kept him before him. When they were close by *Narvaez*'s

Quarters, *Cortes* who was every where giving Directions, said to *Sandoval*'s Party, Gentlemen, Stick close to the Houses on both sides of the Streets, that the Cannon Balls may pass along without doing any Execution. All this could not be done so silently, but that there was Notice given of it. *Narvaez* who was putting on a Breast Plate, said to him that brought the Advice, Be not uneasy, and order'd to beat the Alarm; but none came in from the other Towers, where the rest of his Men were quarter'd, for some say they would not hear, and others that they could not come, being hinder'd by *Cortes*'s Men. When *Sandoval* came up to *Narvaez*'s Quarters, the first Sentinels who stood at the Foot of the Stairs of the Court Door, began to cry out. *Sandoval* seeing he was discover'd, order'd *Canillas* to beat his Drum. *Cortes* cry'd, Fall on, fall on, Holy Ghost, Holy Ghost, advance. *Sandoval* going up the first Stairs, with his Men following, they found in the first Court, a Room full of Blacks. One of them came out with a Light in his Hand, and was kill'd with the Pikes. They pass'd on, *Narvaez*'s Kettledrums, and *Canillas*'s Drum beating incessantly, they made towards *Narvaez*'s Apartment, and going up four Steps saw the Artillery planted. One Gun was fir'd, which kill'd two of *Cortes*'s Men, but the rest press'd on so fast that the other Pieces could not be fir'd. *Cortes* caus'd the Artillery to be thrown down the Steps with all speed, and went up five more, to get into the Room where *Narvaez*'s was, with about forty Soldiers. *Sandoval*, who was already come up with *Narvaez*, requir'd him to yield, but he made a Jest of it, and stood upon his Defence, till *Martin Lopez*, one of *Cortes*'s Men set Fire to the Thatch that was on the Tower, and the Smoak drove *Narvaez* and his Men out of that Place, and then he was run into the Eye with a Pike. *James de Rojas*, Ensign to *Narvaez* fought bravely, in Defence

fence of his Colours, till two Pikes were thrust into him, when falling, he cry'd, Our Lady help me; and *Cortes* answer'd, She shall save you, not permitting him to be quite kill'd. When *Narvaez* was wounded, *Peter Sanchez Farfan* clos'd with him, and then *Sandoval* said, Yield your self Prisoner; so they dragg'd him down the Steps, till Fetters were put upon him, and he carry'd to *Cortes*, to whom he said, My Lord *Cortes*, know how to value your good Fortune in making me your Prisoner this Day. He answer'd, That the least Action he had perform'd in that Country, was the taking of him, and so order'd he should be well secur'd. He was not dress'd that Night, by reason of the great Confusion all Men were in, but the next Day was sent to *Villa Rica*.

Narvaez, being taken, and his Men making no farther Opposition, *Cortes* order'd himself to be proclaim'd Captain-General, and Chief Justice of both Armies, in the King's Name, commanding all Men to come in, and take an Oath to him as such, upon Pain of Death. They all did so, some voluntarily, others because they knew not how to avoid it, except three hundred Soldiers, who fortify'd themselves in their Quarters, to whom *Carraasco* said it was a good Opportunity to fall upon *Cortes's* Men, because those who had taken the Oath to him were disarm'd, and his own Soldiers dispers'd plundering. Though the Advice was not dislik'd, those Men having no Head, and many aspiring to be so, they stay'd till it was Day, when *Christopher de Olid* came to offer them a good Reception from *Cortes*. Most of them cry'd, God bless the King and *James Velasquez*, because he having always inclin'd to do good, they lov'd him. When the Shout was over, *Olid* told them, they would be compell'd by Force to what they refus'd to do voluntarily. Whilst he went to acquaint *Cortes*, *Carraasco* advis'd them to fall upon *Cortes's* Baggage, and they

they would be all rich, might then Embark, and carry *James Velasquez* enough Treasure to fit out another Fleet. Though they lik'd the Proposal, they could not agree, so that *Carraasco* went alone, and finding no Guard but *Marina*, the Female Interpreter, and *John de Ortega*, Page to *Cortes*, he took a Horse and a Spear, return'd to those Men, who were still together, and told them what an Opportunity they lost. *Cortes* then order'd his Artillery to advance against those that would not submit, and having drawn his Men together, commanded *Mesa*, the Gunner, to Fire one Gun in the Air. He did so, *Olid* spoke to them again, and they again answer'd, *God bless the King and James Velasquez*. One Gun being then fir'd upon them kill'd two Men, and the next one, whereupon some of them went over to *Cortes*, the rest held out, till wanting Ammunition, they surrender'd. *Cortes* order'd *Marquez* and *Ojeda* to gather up their Arms, and hide them. By this time it grew Day, when two Sisters, whose Names were *Beatrix* and *Frances de Ordas*, being inform'd that *Narvaez* was taken, and his Army routed, cry'd out at a Window, " You wicked Scoundrels, who ought rather to be set to Spinning, than to handle Swords, " you have given a good Account of yourselves, a " Curse on the Women that came with such Men." Then going to *Cortes*, they paid their Obeisance, and talk'd to him after such a manner as seem'd to be above Women, extolling his Valour. All had taken the Oath to *Cortes*, except *Carraasco*, and he appearing on the Horse he had stolen, *Cortes* said to him, Friend, that Horse is mine, a-light. He said, he would not, unless his own were restor'd to him. *Cortes* reply'd, He should quit him immediately, and Orders should be given for returning his. As to the Oath, he refus'd it, whereupon he had a Clog fastned to one of his Feet, with which he continu'd three Days, and then

then took the Oath. He was not Hang'd to avoid exasperating of those People.

WHEN all had been sworn, he muster'd his own Men, to see how many were missing, and *Narvaez's* Party seeing they were only two hundred and sixty, without the great Army of the *Tlascallans* that had been reported, and that they had but those few Pikes, without Armour, or Horses, and some Coats of Mail, Spears, and Cross-Bows, their Swords in a bad Condition, they were much ashamed, that they with their little Pannels, as they call'd the *Escapiles*, or Cotton Armour, should have defeated so many Men of Note, and blushing, curs'd *Narvaez* for his ill Conduct, which much troubled *Cortes*, till by Degrees he gain'd them to him. Only two of his Men were kill'd, and one wounded, and eleven of *Narvaez's* Party were slain. Then came the Cazique of *Zempoala* with a great Number of *Indians*, bringing Garlands of Roses, and Nosegays, setting them on the Heads of *Cortes*, and the other Commanders they knew, congratulating their Victory, and extolling it. He desir'd *Cortes* to go to his House, who in Return embrac'd him, gave him some *Spanish* Baubles, and having order'd all that had hapned to be painted, *Narvaez* taken, and put into Irons, his Men submitting, and *Cortes* victorious, the Cazique sent it to *Motezuma*, by the Advice of *Cortes*, who also sent a *Spaniard* to inform *Alvarado*. When first *Cortes* came to *Zempoala*, that Lord presented him a beautiful Woman of Quality, who took the Name of *Catherine*, and others to the rest of the Commanders. *Cortes* took up his Quarters in that Woman's House, because it was strong, she treated him very kindly, but he was uneasy in his Mind, seeing those conquer'd People ill dispos'd. Whilst he was thinking how to get over that Difficulty, Captain *Barrientos* came to him with the *Chinantlans*, well arm'd after their Manner, which was a great Satisfaction to him,

him, that *Narvaez's* Men might see how he was obey'd in *New Spain*. He resolv'd to send those *Indians* back, and to divide the *Spaniards*, and accordingly order'd *James de Ordas* to march with three hundred of those Men to subdue the Province of *Guazacoalco*, and *John Velasquez* with another Detachment to the River of *Garay*, thus to employ them, and secure himself, which at the same Time was acceptable to them. *Cortes* then commanded *Peter de Malvenda*, Steward to *Velasquez*, to pick up all that belong'd to his Master, and *Narvaez*, and secure it. A Black belonging to *Narvaez*, having the Small-Pox when he came over, infected the whole Town of *Zempoala*, and the *Indians* frequently washing themselves, great Numbers of them dy'd, and lying unbury'd, occasion'd a pestilential Distemper, both which spread through all *New Spain*, and there ensu'd a prodigious Mortality. Others affirm, that this Distemper was not brought over by the Black, but that they had it at certain Times in the *West-Indies*, and this seems the more likely, because it affected none of the *Spaniards*.

C H A P. II.

The Mexicans take Arms against Alvarado; Cortes marches to his Relief; enters the City; is attack'd and distress'd by the Indians; the Death of Motezuma.

WHILST *Cortes* was endeavouring to settle his Affairs at *Vera Cruz*, wherein he met with some Difficulty, most of *Narvaez's* Men being well affected to *James Velasquez*, before *John Velasquez* and

The HISTORY of America. 55

and *James de Orda* were gone far upon the aforefaid Commissions, the *Spaniard* he had sent to *Mexico* with the News of his Victory, return'd, and faid, the *Mexicans* were in Arms, and shew'd some Wounds they had given him, faying, he had escap'd miraculoufly. He prefs'd *Cortes* to march to the Relief of *Alvarado*, telling him, that the *Indians* had burnt the four Brigantines he had built at *Mexico*; thrown down a Wall at the *Spanish* Quarters, which had been repair'd with much Difficulty; undermin'd another; fet Fire to the Ammunition, taken up the Draw-Bridges, cut off the Provisions, kill'd *Peña*, *Motezuma's* Favourite, that he delighted in; that the *Spaniards* had defended themselves bravely, killing many *Indians*, and that if *Motezuma* had not sometimes commanded his People to give over the Attacks, for fear that *Alvarado* might kill him, the *Spaniards* had been already destroy'd. Fresh Advices came of this Commotion, with the Addition, that besides *Peña*, *Valdibia*, and *John Martin Narizes* had been kill'd, and *Alvarado*, prefs'd for Succour. Hereupon he fetled the Government at *Villa Rica*, leaving *Narvaez* and some of his Men Prisoners there; commanded those he had sent abroad to halt till farther Orders, made a Speech to the Men, faying, that those who were willing to follow him should have Arms given them, and the Occasion being urgent all unanimously offer'd their Service. When all Things were ready, he set out from *Zempoala*, with above eleven hundred *Spaniards*, the *Indians* every where supplying him with Provisions, till he came near the Province of *Tlascala*, where they fail'd, and because the whole Army could not march in a Body, he sent *John Marquez* and *Alonso de Ojeda* before to provide for the rest, and to enquire after News from *Alvarado*.

WHEN *Marquez* and *Ojeda* arriv'd at *Tlascala*, the Lords there rejoyc'd at *Cortes's* Victory, and to hear that

that he was in Health, and so strong to chastize the *Mexicans*; gave Orders for Provisions, said *Alvarado* held out, and had kill'd many Men of Note, that upon the Arrival of the great Lord *Cortes*, all would be quell'd, and the guilty punish'd, offering to assist him with Men. The Forces being to march ten Leagues that Day, where they would meet with no Provisions, *Ojeda* went out to meet them at the Head of one thousand two hundred Men, loaded with Water, Fowls, Bread, and Fruit. Being among some Houses of *Otomies*, he heard the Jingling of Hawks-bells, which they wore at the Horse's Breast-plates, he listned, because it was not yet Day, and met with *Cortes*, who was well pleas'd to see him. He told him what he had heard, and what he was carrying, *Cortes* and his Companions alighted, and eat a cold Pullet, said he was going to *Tlascala*, and bid him advance through that Desert because the Men were very hungry. Next he met a Soldier, who told him, the Men were in such Distress, that unless he made haste, they would die, and especially with Thirst. Next he found *Christopher* the Cryer, and his Wife, lying on the Ground half dead, sprinkled their Faces with Water, gave them drink, and part of a Fowl to eat, and so they recover'd. *Cortes* arriv'd at *Tlascala* on the 17th of *July*, this Year 1520, was very well receiv'd, and lodg'd in *Maxiscatzin's* House. They could not give him any other Account of the Occasion of the Disturbance at *Mexico*, than that they believ'd it proceeded from the perverse Disposition of those People; they offer'd him their Assistance, and pray'd he would take particular Care of himself. He return'd them many Thanks, and was impatient till his Men came. *Ojeda* went on, met some tir'd, others scarce able to wag, and others lying on the Ground, by threes and fours, very hungry, and more thirsty. They were put into a Grove of Pine-trees, the *Indians* fell to roasting of Pullets, and refresh'd

refresh'd them. *James Moreno* was left with them, whilst *Ojeda* proceeded, relieving those he met; and thus they all got to the Grove, where they eat, rested, and return'd Thanks to God, recounting what they had suffer'd. Advancing thence to *Tlascala*, *Cortes* there muster'd them, and found one thousand Foot, and one hundred Horse, though some vary in the Number. Then marching on, he sent *F. Olmedo* to let *Moteczuma* know how much he was concern'd, that he should suffer those few *Spaniards* he had under his Protection to be misus'd. *Ojeda* in his Memorials tells us, that nothing of Moment hapned till they came to *Tezcuco*, at Nine in the Morning, which place they found almost abandon'd, and the few People that remain'd look'd upon them with an evil Eye. There the Forces rested four Days, when a Canoe came from *Mexico*, which had departed thence in the Night with two *Spaniards*, being *Santa Clara* and *Peter Hernandez*. They gave a full Account of all that had hapned, and said, the *Mexicans* had not attack'd *Alvarado* for thirteen Days past, and had only kill'd the three *Spaniards* before-mention'd. It was thought that upon the Arrival of *F. Olmedo*, and the News of the fresh *Spanish* Forces, the War would be at an End. *Cortes* sent this Advice to *Vera Cruz*, which made those People think themselves secure. He march'd from *Tezcuco* to *Tepeaquilla*, a Town little above half a League from *Mexico*. At their Entrance, as they were passing over a small Bridge, *Solis's* Horse put his Leg into a Hole between two Timbers, where it was broke in Pieces, and he hung by it, but *Solis* threw himself into the Water. Many took particular Notice of this Accident, especially *Botello*, and they look'd upon it as an ill Omen, but *Cortes* gave it a good Interpretation. They there found Plenty of Provisions, but the Inhabitants were all fled.

58 The HISTORY of America.

THE next Day *Ojeda* and *Marquez* seeking about for *Indians* to carry the Burdens, that Charge being committed to them, saw one clad, hanging at a Beam of the House, and when the Forces began to march, they found a great Heap of Bread, and above five hundred Pullets in a Square, without any Body to look to the same. The *Indians* stood at their Doors silent, but as the *Spaniards* pass'd by seem'd to threaten. When they came to the Quarters, the Gates were shut, they knock'd to have them open'd, *Alvarado* went upon the Wall, and ask'd, Who was there? *Cortes* answer'd, It was he. *Alvarado* again ask'd, Whether he came as free as he departed, and with the same Authority over all? *Cortes* said, He did, and victorious, with a greater Power. Then the Gate was open'd, he kiss'd his Hands, deliver'd him the Keys, and they were receiv'd with incredible Joy. They told one another all their Adventures, and because the House could not contain all the Men, some were sent to the Temple. It was about Noon when the *Spaniards* enter'd *Mexico*, with many *Tlascallans*, and other *Indian* Allies. Some time after, *Cortes* sent *F. Olmedo* to pay a Visit to *Moteczuma*, who ask'd, Whether the General was tir'd, or angry on Account of what had hapned? He answer'd, He was weary, and therefore did not visit him immediately. *Moteczuma* told him, that if he was not angry, he would give him a Horse, and his own Statue upon him all in Maffive Gold. Then *F. Olmedo* having told him all that had hapned with *Narvaez*, took his Leave. Many have reported, they heard *Cortes* say, that had he visited *Moteczuma* as soon as he came, his Affairs had gone well, and that he omitted it as undervaluing him, because he was so strong. He was told many Motives that induc'd the *Mexicans* to rise in Arms. Some said it was on Account of what *Narvaez* spoke against him; others, that it was to oblige the *Spaniards* to depart the City, and

and set *Moteczuma* at Liberty ; others, that their aim was to possess themselves of the Gold, Feather-work, Cloathing, and Jewels they had, the whole valu'd at above seven hundred thousand Ducats ; others, that it was to be rid of *Tiascallans* their mortal Enemies, and because they had cast down their Idols, setting up a new Religion ; but that which is believ'd to have been the most prevailing Argument was, that when the first Day of the Month came, which they reckoned a solemn Festival, they had ask'd leave of *Alvarado* to celebrate the same, designing to attack him when they were all together, which he granted, provided that they should not go arm'd, nor sacrifice any Man. That Night above one thousand of the Gentry assembled in the Temple, making a great Noise with Kettledrums, Shells, Cornets, and Bones cleft, which whistled very loud. They sung many Songs, danc'd stark naked, only their Privities cover'd, Plumes of Feathers on their Heads, with Jewels, Collars of Gold, Bracelets, and Strings, with Gold Plates hanging at them on their Breasts and Backs ; and in Sight of the *Spaniards* they danc'd in the Court of the Temple a Dance, the Name whereof signifies. *The Merit of Labour*. Their Songs were of the Godly sort, begging in them Rain, Corn, Health, Victory, Peace, and Children ; and there they agreed to fall upon the *Spaniards*. They danc'd by Parcels holding one anothers Hands, in Ranks to the Musick of those that sung and play'd, and were answer'd dancing and singing, beating Kettledrums, and other Instruments.

WHILST they were in the Height of this Jollity, *Alvarado* was call'd to see it, and some *Spaniards* who understood the Language, perceiving what was in Agitation, and giving him Notice, he secur'd the Gates of the Court, posting ten *Spaniards* at each of them, and then-entring with fifty others, made a great Slaughter, and took their Gold, which gave Occasion

to have it said, that he had done it out of Covetousness. *Cortes* was much concern'd at this Action, but was oblig'd to connive at it, because the Time would not permit him to do otherwise. Some say the *Tlascalans* misinforming *Alvarado* put him upon it; but the Truth was, that they really design'd to have destroy'd the *Spaniards*, to which Purpose they had hid their Arms in the neighbouring Houses, as was affirm'd by several Women, who always discover'd the Truth, *Cortes* sent for the prime Persons, and made a long Speech to them, saying, "He forgave what was past, " provided they should for the future be Friends, as " they were before." Tho' they listned with Attention to what he said, they only answer'd, They would consider what was best to be done, and without paying him the least Respect departed, some one Way and some another. *Moteczuma* resented it very much that *Cortes* did not visit him, and yet was of so generous a Temper, that tho' his People endeavour'd to incense him, he would have done any thing to please *Cortes* had he seen that he regarded him. No Market having been kept since the Affair of *Alvarado*, *Cortes* sent to desire *Moteczuma* to order it to be kept, that the *Spaniards* might buy Provisions. He answer'd, that himself and chiefest of his Servants were Prisoners, but he might let go which of them he pleas'd to carry those Orders. *Cortes*, thinking no Harm, set at Liberty a Brother of *Moteczuma*, Lord of *Eztapalapa*, and the *Mexicans* neither kept the Market, nor permitted him to return, but chose him for their Commander. *Cortes* sent *Antony del Rio* to *Zempoala*, to give an Account of the Posture of Affairs, and hasten the March of those that had stay'd behind; and as he was passing a horse-back through the *Tlatelulco*, which is the Market Place, the People hooted at, and began to pursue him with their Arms. Being thus follow'd, and seeing a Stop before, he thought it best to turn back, and
breaking

breaking through the Crowd, with his Horse, and Sword in Hand, return'd to the Quarters. *Cortes* then sent five Horsemen to see how Matters stood, who found some Timber taken off the Bridges under which the Cuts of Water ran, and turning about another Way, found the like in other Streets, many People on the Tops of the Houses pointing to them to pass the Bridges. The next Day *Ojeda* and *Marquez* went out to seek for Provisions, and finding a Bridge broken, and the Water in the Trench deep, they made a shift to get over by throwing in Rubbish, Pieces of Mats, and other Things; then passing along a little Street, they found a wooden Trough, full of Thongs of Leather, with which the *Indians* us'd to play at Ball, and of Arms. *Marquez* going on to an House a little farther, heard a great Cry, and returning to his Companion, they agreed to fly, and had it not been for a *Tlascallan* they had with them, who was their Guide, there were so many Windings of Streets, that they had been in much Danger. They met with an *Indian Papa*, or Priest, with his Hair dishrevell'd, crying out, and behaving himself like a mad Man, pursu'd him, and he ran into a House that was full of tame Cranes, which as soon as they saw him began to set up their Cry, in such Manner, that *Ojeda* came out in a Consternation. The Citizens flock'd together on all Hands, great Cries were heard, and the Tops of the Houses were full of Men. Six *Spaniards* that were at the Top of the Temple looking out, gave notice of the Disturbance, and *Ojeda* and *Marquez* coming in, two hundred Men sally'd out of the Quarters, whilst the rest were arming. They fought with a great Multitude of *Indians*, who press'd on furiously, without any Dread of the Swords. The Action lasted till Night, an infinite Number of the *Mexicans* being slain, and not one *Spaniard*. Thus was *Cortes* convinc'd that the War was unavoidable, and

and therefore he endeavour'd to send privately for *Salcedo*, who had been left behind with the Wardrobe. He order'd Men out, to throw down some Trenches the *Indians* had cast up, that the Horses might pass. As soon as it was Day the Shouting, Whistling, and Fighting began again, and continu'd the whole Day, with the Destruction of many *Mexicans*, and some *Spaniards* were hurt, because the *Indians* threw Stones from the Tops of the Houses, but the Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows drove them. *Cortes* having been inform'd that they would attack him in the Night, contrary to their Practice, order'd a strong Guard to be kept.

THE next Day the *Indians* assaulted *Cortes* the third time, in most desperate manner, killing *Cerezo*, an Horseman, and finding that the greatest Mischief came from the Tops of the Houses, he left the Horsemen, and with one hundred and forty Musketeers and Cross-bow Men, entred the Street of *Tacuba*, making great Havock, gain'd it entirely, and came to *Tacuba*, where they might have fortify'd and secur'd themselves, with all their Wealth; but despising the *Indians* they return'd to their Quarters, and were set upon in the Streets by vast Numbers of *Indians*, where the Horses having no room, were of little use. They took one *Spaniard* alive, and sacrific'd him in Sight of all the rest. They also took two Pieces of Cannon, and threw them into the Trenches, so that the *Spaniards* with much Difficulty return'd to their Quarters, and the *Indians* again clear'd those Places which the *Spaniards* had fill'd up for their Horses to pass. The next Day they engag'd the fourth time, the *Indians* being so numerous that it was wonderful to behold, who attack'd the Court of the great Temple, where, though it was large, no use could be made of the Horses, because it was pav'd with broad Stones. Many great Men were at the Top of the Temple, commanding
and

The HISTORY of America. 63

and directing where the Attack should be made. *Cortes* sent *Escobar*, his Chamberlain against them, with one hundred Men, and by that time they were got up four Steps, there came down upon them such a shower of Stones, Pieces of Timber, Sticks, and Firebrands, that they were forc'd to retire. Three times they were repuls'd in this manner. *Cortes* being inform'd of it, ty'd a Target to his Arm, because he was wounded in the Hand, went to that Place, said it was a Shame there should be any longer Delay in that Affair, advanc'd foremost, was follow'd by many, they got up the Steps, though some *Spaniards* were knocked down; fell upon three hundred Gentlemen that were there, and left not six of them alive, some being kill'd with the Sword, and others throwing themselves headlong from the Parapet of the Temple. Two laid hold of *Cortes* to cast themselves down with him, but he being a strong Man got loose. The same hapned to *Ojeda*, and he would have perish'd in that manner, had not *Luke Geneose* reliev'd him. They went up to the Top of the Temple, where they found no Men, but much Cacao, and Meat, and the *Tlascallan* and *Zempoalan Indians* had a good Day of it, for they fed upon the *Mexicans* that were kill'd. The *Mexicans* came on again the next Day in a greater Rage, and had new Ways of Fighting, being assisted by the neighbouring Towns. They threw their Javelins close by the Ground, to wound the Feet and Legs, and in this manner above two hundred *Spaniards* were hurt, till they provided Armour. The Arrows flew so thick that those who were appointed to gather them up every Day burnt forty Cart Loads of them. Provision was become so scarce, that the *Indian* Allies had but a little Cake every Day a Man, for their Allowance, and every *Spaniard* fifty Grains of *Indian* Wheat; nor was there less want of Water, so that they endur'd much Drough. They dug in their Quarters, and though
the

the Earth was full of Salt-Petre, they found fresh Water, which was wonderful. A *Tlascallan* looking over some of the Works, to see what was doing, the *Mexicans* cry'd to him, "You Dog, you and those Christians an Dogs shall now perish with Thirst." He answer'd, "You infamous false Scoundrels, who know not how to fight but in Crowds, take that Cake which I had to spare this Day out of my Allowance; for you shall all be destroy'd by Degrees."

THE Engagement was desperate on all Sides, the Artillery made great Havock, and as soon as a Gun was fir'd the *Indians* clos'd again, as if nothing had hapned. *Mesa* the Master Gunner had given a Piece the full Charge, and the *Indians* pressing on to the Mouth and Wheels of it, he had not Time to prime it, and yet whether by the Heat of the Sun, or what other Accident is not known, it went off of itself, with such a dreadful Report and Slaughter, that it frightened all the rest, and most of them fell to the Ground, and so drew off by Degrees, tho' in other Parts the Battle continu'd so hot, that it was thought the *Spaniards* had all perish'd that Day, but that, as the *Indians* reported, the Image of our Lady threw Dust in their Eyes, and a very proper Gentleman, cloath'd in white, on a white Horse, with a Sword in his Hand, fought without being wounded, and his Horse, with his Mouth and Feet, did as much Mischief as the Gentleman with his Sword. At this Time *James de Ordas* was retiring along the Street of *Tacuba*, with three hundred Men, and *Cortes* who was fighting in that of *Eztapalapa*, went to relieve him, with his Bridle ty'd to his Arm, because of the Wound in his Hand; he struck many with his Spear, and renewing the Engagement, the *Indians* were put to flight. He then return'd to the Place where he had left sixty Horse and two hundred Foot, found them retiring, and cry'd, It was a Shame that *Spaniards* should do so, and charging,

ging, routed the Enemy. He went on to see what was doing in another Place, and perceiv'd that the *Mexicans* were carrying off his great Friend *Andrew de Duero*, and his Horse; he recover'd the Horse, and *Duero* seeing the Relief, with a Dagger ripp'd up many *Indians*, whilst *Cortes* kill'd others with his Spear, and so he escap'd. The next Morning, the Battle renew'd as bloody as ever, and the *Indians* set Fire to the House; it was put out by throwing down a Wall, and that Breach made good with Cannon, and a Work rais'd, and because some Mischief was done from a Tower of *Motezuma's* House, *Cortes* resolv'd to make himself Master of it. He attack'd it with two hundred Men, and it was wonderful that long Pieces of Timber being rould down the Stairs, at length which might have overthrown ten or twelve Men, they all turn'd endways, and did no Harm. He gain'd the Tower, kill'd those that defended it, advanc'd into the City, burnt above one thousand Houses, gain'd seven Bridges, kill'd a prodigious Number, and here a Horseman came to tell him, that the great Men of *Mexico* would treat with him of Peace. He was glad of it, sent *Alvarado* and *Sandoval* with sixty Horse, and order'd *John Velasquez* to stay there with four hundred Foot to secure the Bridges. Then he went to the *Mexicans*, whom he saluted very courteously. They ask'd him, Why he did not go away, as he had promis'd, since he had Ships, and restore them their Lord *Motezuma*. Whilst he was discoursing about this Affair, Advice was brought him, that the Bridges were lost; he hasted away thither, and found *John de Soria*, and another Soldier dead, and five Horses fallen down. He recover'd them, and fought so resolutely, that his Person alone was the saving of many Lives.

Cortes return'd to his Quarters, with two Contusions on his Knee, made by Stones, where he found the Men in much Confusion, believing he had been kill'd,

because he stay'd so long. They rejoic'd at the Sight of him, the Battle continu'd, the *Indians* broke the Bridges, and fought from the Tops of their Houses. *Cortes* seeing one among them very fine, obey'd by all the rest, sent *Marina* to ask *Moteczuma*, whether he thought they had put the Government into his Hands. He answer'd, that they would not presume to choose a King in *Mexico* whilst he was living. He look'd at them, and said, They were his Kindred, and that among them were the Lords of *Texcuco*, and *Tztapalapa*. The Engagement still grew hotter. *Cortes* was in Confusion, and *Moteczuma* no less, apprehending as is likely, that they would kill him. He bid *Marina* to acquaint the General that he would go up to a Parapet on the House, to speak to his Subjects, which might perhaps induce them to come to some Accommodation. *Cortes* was pleas'd with it, he went up with a Guard of two hundred *Spaniards*, in Royal Apparel, and *Marina* with them to know what was said. The Noblemen that went up with him made a Sign, he was presently known, and raising his Voice, said, " He should be well pleas'd that they
 " would behave themselves gratefully for the Good he
 " had done them; that he had been inform'd, they
 " had chosen another King, because he was confin'd,
 " and lov'd the Christians, but could not believe they
 " would forsake their natural Sovereign for ano-
 " ther, which God would avenge; that if they
 " had fought so long to set him at Liberty, he thank'd
 " them, but they were mistaken, for he was there by
 " his own Consent, that being his own House, in
 " order to entertain his Guests the better, and therefore
 " he desir'd them to lay down their Arms, since every
 " Man they kill'd cost them above two thousand, es-
 " pecially considering that they offer'd Peace, and had
 " not taken their Goods, nor ravish'd their Wives,
 " or Daughters, and were willing to be gone; that he
 " could

“ could go out from thence whensoever it pleas’d him,
 “ having always had the Liberty so to do, and there-
 “ fore, if they lov’d him, they should give over, and
 “ lay aside all Prejudice, which never permitted Men
 “ to act discreetly.” The *Mexicans* listned to him
 with much Attention, but presently answer’d, “ Hold
 “ your Peace, you effeminate Scoundrel, born to
 “ weave and spin; those Dogs keep you a Prisoner,
 “ you are a Coward.” Then they fell on again, cast-
 ing abundance of Stones, and shooting their Arrows,
 and tho’ a *Spaniard* took Care to cover *Motezuma*
 with a Target, ill Luck would have it, that a Stone
 hit him on the Temple. He went down to his Cham-
 ber, laid him on his Bed, and was so much dash’d
 and out of Countenance, that tho’ the Wound was
 not mortal, he dy’d in four Days with Grief, forbear-
 ing to eat, and refusing to be dress’d.

THE Fight never ceas’d all the while that *Motezu-
 ma* kept his Bed, who finding his Strength to fail him,
 sent for *Cortes* in great Haste, and sitting up leaning
 on the Pillows, with Tears in his Eyes taking hold of
 his Hands, said, “ That he knew not where to begin;
 “ that he was the same *Motezuma* whom he had so
 “ positively insisted to visit, whom the World had
 “ so much respected; that he knew not what ill Fate
 “ attended him, for he had not usurp’d another’s King-
 “ dom, had done Justice, conquer’d many Nations,
 “ bestow’d many Favours, and yet those who before
 “ durst not look him in the Face, had then insulted
 “ their King, giving him such Language as was not
 “ fit for a Slave, and throwing Stones at his Royal
 “ Person; that his Heart was ready to burst, and he
 “ dy’d in great Rage, wishing he could see those Vil-
 “ lains punish’d, but it was now too late, and his End
 “ was rather occasion’d by Vexation than by the
 “ Wound; he therefore begg’d that since he dy’d for
 “ his Sake he would take Care of his Children, and

“punish those that had insulted him, and the Per-
 “son that had usurp’d the Crown.” *Cortes* could not
 but be mov’d at these Words, and holding him by
 the Hands, begg’d that he would not cast himself
 down, for he would perform all his Commands, as if
 they were the Kings his Masters; adding, that he
 had been in the Wrong in not suffering himself to be
 dress’d, that he gave him his Word to take Care of
 his Children, and Revenge himself to the full. These
 and other Words utter’d by *Cortes* very much com-
 comforted him; but he was forc’d to take his Leave to go
 see what was doing Abroad. The next Day being
 told he was very ill, he came back to see, found
 him in a great Agony, and said, “That since he
 “had agreed to be baptiz’d, he should do it then, to
 “save his Soul; for *F. Olmedo* was there ready to do
 “it.” He answer’d, “That having but half an
 “Hour longer to live, he would not forsake the Re-
 “ligion of his Ancestors;” and soon after he dy’d,
 some of the great Men that were Prisoners with him
 being present, to whom he recommended his Chil-
 dren, and the Revenge he desir’d till his last Gasp.
 He never would suffer any Cloth, or other Thing on
 the Wound; but if any was laid on, he pull’d it off,
 wishing for Death. Four Hours after he was dead,
Cortes look’d out from the Top of the House, made a
 Signal for a Cessation, desiring to speak to the Com-
 manders, and told them, “They had ill requited their
 “Sovereign, having kill’d him with a Stone, but
 “that he had rather dy’d of Vexation than of the
 “Wound; that he would deliver him up, to be bu-
 “ry’d according to their Manner, bidding them not
 “contend any longer, for that God, who was just,
 “would destroy that City by his Hands.” They
 answer’d, “They had a Commander, and would have
 “no more to do with *Motezuma* dead or alive,” with
 other such insolent Expressions. *Cortes* turn’d his back
 upon

The HISTORY of *America*. 69

upon them, and order'd those great Men that had attended him, to carry out the Body, that they might see he dy'd of the Blow of the Stone. As soon as out of the House, an *Indian* richly clad ran up to him, making ugly Faces, without speaking, as if he had ask'd what Body that was, and being told it was *Moteczuma's*, he made Signs to have it carry'd back to the *Spaniards*, and then ran to his own Party. Those that carry'd him, vanish'd on a sudden, and the *Spaniards* heard no more of him, but suppos'd he had been bury'd in the Wood of *Chapultepecque*, because great Lamentation was heard there.

Moteczuma was Son and Grandson of the Kings of *Mexico*, and tho' they were all very brave, he exceed'd them, enlarging the Empire, and maintaining it in much Prosperity. He was very generous, moderate in eating, had many Wives, whom he made use of in a temperate Manner, maintain'd them well, and gave them much Honour. He was a Lover of Justice, sparing none, tho' it were his own Son; very devout and nice in his Religion; wise in Peace, or War; grave and severe, gain'd nine Victories, went abroad with a numerous Attendance, and the People were glad to see him; was serv'd with much Grandeur and Ceremony, and lov'd the *Spaniards*, at least to outward Appearance. Soon after the Body was carry'd away, *Cortes* said to his Commanders, that since it was reasonable he should be bury'd as became so great a King, and that a Successor should be chosen, it was fit there should be a Cessation, whilst those two great Affairs were carrying on, because he would willingly be present at the Funeral, and that for his Sake he had not done them more Harm. They answer'd, that he should not talk of those Things, but be gone with many more rude Expressions, designing to entrap him as he was marching out, and thus the Conference ended.

C H A P. IV.

Cortes resolves to depart out of Mexico ; how desperately he was forc'd to fight his Way through ; the Victory he gain'd in the Field of Otumba ; his Reception at Tlascala.

CORTES being convinc'd that there was no Safety but in their own Bravery, march'd out with three Mantlets, or cover'd Galleries, the best that had been made, upon Wheels. Each of them contain'd thirty Men, and had Planks over it three Fingers thick. The first went along the Street of *Tacuba*, which is the greatest in the City. The *Indians* at first much admir'd those Engines, and the other two were carry'd through other Streets, follow'd by *Cortes*, with all the *Spaniards*, and three thousand *Tlascallans*. They began to apply Scaling Ladders to the lower Houses from those Galleries, and went up, so that all seem'd to go well at first ; but such a Multitude of *Indians* came on, and there was such a Shower of Stones, some of them of half an Hundred Weight, that those who were in the Engines suffer'd, and the Planks were broken. Tho' they had thrown Stones at other Times, it was never in such a desperate Manner as now, and the *Spaniards* not being able to make any Advantage of their Cannon, or Muskets, were oblig'd to retire as if they had fled, one of them being kill'd, and many wounded, and the *Mexicans* much puff'd up with this Success. Tho' the *Tlascallans* at other Times always us'd to answer any Bravadoes they made, this
Time

Time they were silent, seeing the bad Condition they were in; and *Cortes* tho' much concern'd, and repenting that he had not gone away when he might, still comforted and encourag'd his Men; and considering that Hunger press'd very hard, and his Condition was very desperate, he again call'd to the *Mexican* Commanders, and told them, " It was ill done to abuse their " Guests, that they should forbear proceeding any farther, or he would do them all the Harm he could, " and that they should take Notice that the *Tlascallans* " courted their Friendship to make use of it against " them." They answer'd, " That they knew them " to be no Gods, but mortal Men, Usurpers of what " belong'd to others, that they prevail'd by the Advantage of their Weapons, but that still they were " themselves so numerous, that they would destroy " them." *Cortes* then considering the Rage of the Enemy, that Hunger pinch'd, and Ammunition began to fall short, advis'd with his Officers, and a Soldier of Note, call'd *Botello*, who had told him several Things which afterwards came to pass, about marching out privately that Night, because the *Indians* were not wont to fight by Night. Some approv'd, and some oppos'd it, thinking that the Bridges being broken, and the Night very dark, the Attempt would be extraordinary hazardous. *Botello*, who had gain'd Credit with *Cortes*, having before told him, that if he fought *Narvaez* in the Night, he should vanquish him, now affirm'd, That they ought to depart, tho' he foretold them that himself or his Brother should be kill'd, and some of that Company, but that the General, and many more would save themselves; but not a Man would escape if they attempted to march out by Day. Several Consultations were held, and in Conclusion, being sensible of the Distress they were in, it was resolv'd to march, and depend upon their own Valour. They arm'd, and *Cortes* gave Leave for every
Man

Man to take as much of the Treasure as he would, which prov'd the Destruction of many, for those that took least escap'd best.

Cortes provided a Bridge to be carry'd with him, knowing that those of the City were broken. *Sandoval*, and *Antony de Quinones*, with two hundred Foot and twenty Horse led the Van; *Alvarado*, *Olid*, *Ordas*, and *Velasquez* brought up the Rear. The Bridge was carry'd by fifty Men, under the Command of Captain *Magarino*, all of them chosen, and sworn to die rather than forsake it; and had they carry'd three Bridges instead of one, few of them had perish'd. They took along with them a Son, a Daughter, and a Brother of *Moteczuma*, and some of the great Men they had in Custody, designing to make use of them towards recovering of the City. He chose for himself one hundred try'd Soldiers, to relieve where the greatest Want might be. The Horsemen took up the sick and wounded behind them, and thus they march'd out in silent Manner, without being observ'd till *Magarino* laid the Bridge over the first Breach. The Guards there heard him, threw Abundance of Firebrands, gave the Alarm, and many *Indians* drew together in a Moment, having no Armour to put on, He fought desperately, slew many, fix'd the Bridge, and both the *Spaniards*, and the Confederate *Indians* pass'd it. In the meantime a vast Number of *Mexicans* had repair'd to the other Bridges. *Magarino* labour'd to take up his *Ponton*, and could not, because it was too much settled, and the Enemies charg'd him in Canoes, and by Land, wounding many of his fifty Men. There was a hideous Cry of, *Kill the Christian Dogs*. They came to the second Breach in the Street of *Tacuba*, which had only three, whereas in that of *Yztapalapa* there were seven. There was no more of the Bridge but only one Beam, and that not very broad, so that the Horse could not pass along it, and the Power of the

the Enemy charging, there was a miserable Slaughter of *Spaniards*, and they made such Havock among the *Mexicans*, that the Breach was fill'd up with their Bodies. *Cortes* was not idle, for he bravely play'd the Part of a Soldier, and of a Commander. Making an Essay, he found a Ford on one side of that Breach; pass'd over with the Water up to his Saddle Skirts, where the Horse and some of the Foot pass'd. He return'd into the Water, and Fighting there, gave many of the Foot the opportunity to pass along the Beam, several *Spaniards* being left behind kill'd and drowned. Being come to the third Breach, where *Sandoval* was already engag'd, he turn'd to *Cortes*, and told him, there was no great Number of *Indians* to defend that Pass, but that his Men were disheartned, and it was requisite he should encourage them by his Presence. The Van pass'd over, which he left under the Command of *John Xaramillo*, and went back to see how it was with *Alvarado* in the Rear. *Oliv* met him, and said *Alvarado* was in Danger; he got over the Breach Fighting, found *Alvarado*, and having assur'd him, that though many had been kill'd, the living were got over, they went on. It was dreadful to behold the Distress they were in at this Pass, and pitiful to hear the *Spaniards* cry, *Here, Here, Help, Help*, in the dark Night. Those that perish'd in the Water cry'd, *God be with me, Mercy Lord*. The *Mexicans* roar'd, *Kill, Kill*. Thus there was nothing but Cries, Confusion, Wounds, Death, Seizing, Dread, Anguish, and Groans. The Fight was now altogether at the last Bridge, and *Cortes* having stay'd behind, to bring off his Men, hearing the Noise, hasten'd thither with five Horsemen, saw all in Confusion, and desperate, many kill'd, drowned, and taken, heard dreadful Lamentations of those that were dying, and though some fought, there was no Order. He fought undauntedly, encourag'd, and drew together his Men.

Alvarado, who was in the Rear, and charg'd home, stood it out manfully, never omitting to encourage his Soldiers to follow close, and acted as well as commanded. There was now no Way but over dead Bodies, nothing to be heard but dismal Cries; the Number of the Enemies encreasing, as did their Fury, Shouts, and Rage, considering that there was nothing more to be done, that no Remedy seem'd to be left but Death, and no Passage but through the Water, where it was impossible to avoid being drowned, kill'd, or taken by those that were in the Canoes, being an infinite Number, by the help of his Spear he leap'd over the Water, to the great Admiration of all that beheld it, as well *Spaniards* as *Indians*. - Many try'd to follow his Example, but not one reach'd the other side; some of them were drowned, and others with much Difficulty got out of the Water. From that Time he was call'd *Alvarado* the Leaper, and the Place had the Name of *Alvarado's Leap*, because the Breach or Trench was so wide, that all that beheld admir'd it, and they are astonish'd that see it at this Day. He was Born at *Badajoz*, being the Son of the Com-mendary of *Lobon*.

IN this toilsome manner the *Spaniards* made their Way to the Continent, leaving behind one hundred and fifty Men kill'd, and forty taken, who were all sacrific'd, and one hundred that return'd to the Tower of the Temple, where they held out three Days, and surrendering for Want of Provisions, had the same End. The Baggage, Artillery, and all they had was lost. They that took least Gold, and were lightest, fought and escap'd best. All the Prisoners, forty-six Horses, and four thousand Confederate *Indians* were missing. *Cortes* could not forbear shedding Tears for so great a Loss. He call'd to Mind, how much he had err'd in not visiting *Motezuma*, when he return'd to *Mexico*, his not departing, when he might have done

done it with Safety, and giving up the Treasure, which had been the Occasion of so much Mischief. He reflected on the Turns of Fortune, lamented the Death of his Friends, and having so few Men, without knowing whither to fly, being destitute of Provisions and Succour; but offering up his Prayers to God, he rally'd, and order'd what Men he had, to the Number of about five hundred Foot, and twenty-six Horsemen. He enquir'd after *Martin Lopez*, and was glad to hear he was there, and that he had not lost *Ferome de Aguilar*, nor *Marina*, the two Interpreters. The Enemies still pursuing the Forces, in good Order march'd to *Tacuba*, where a *Spaniard* got up into a *Cherry-Tree*, and stay'd there till he saw the *Indians* return from pursuing *Cortes*, he ran into a Field of *Indian Wheat*, and there found another, who both went away safe to the rest, and reported that those who return'd seem'd to be twenty thousand. The Fight continu'd till they came to *Tacuba*, still by Night, the Inhabitants of which Place did *Cortes* no harm, of which the *Mexicans* complain'd, still following the Chace, he going before, and the Rear following by the Track of the dead. Being come to a Break, they were hard set, and *Cortes* returning back encourag'd them by his Presence, the Enemy still pressing on them. A *Spaniard* had three thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, and said, *Sir, What shall I do with this, for I am not able to go?* *Cortes* answer'd, *The Devil take the Gold, if it must cost you your Life.* The Man threw it away, and got off safe. The Sun was up, when they came to a little Temple, with a Tower on an Eminence, all the Ground about being plain, where the Horsemen with their Spears kill'd many *Indians*. Here *Gonzalo Dominguez*, a dextrous and brave Man signaliz'd himself. Much harm was done to the *Indians* from the Top of the Tower, which made them not press on so boldly. *Cortes* halted, to see whether

the *Spaniards* that had stay'd in the Corn Fields would come up, they came accordingly, and one *Sopuerta* that had many Arrows sticking in him, and escap'd by feigning himself dead. This Temple they then call'd of *Victory*, and afterwards *Our Lady of Redress*. It was thought the *Indians* might have done more Execution, had they not stay'd to plunder the dead, and the great Men to bewail *Moteczuma's* Children, whom they found dead by the way. The *Spaniards* rested themselves in that Temple, and at Night made Fire, with above four Cart Loads of Darts, and Arrows, that had been cast and shot in the Attack of it. After Midnight, *Cortes* resolv'd to march towards *Tlascala*, with less than four hundred *Spaniards*, six hundred Confederate *Indians*, and twenty-three Horses. He appointed eight Captains, gave the Van to *James de Ordaz*, and took Charge of the Rear himself, placing the wounded Men in the Center, again lamenting his Misfortune. He gave Orders that no Man should quit his Rank, march'd without Beat of Drum, a *Tlascallan* leading the way by guess, for he knew it not well.

WHEN they had advanc'd half a League, they were discover'd, the *Mexicans* charg'd, and fought all the Way for two Leagues farther, till they came to another Temple, with a good Tower. Five Horsemen met with a great Ambush of *Indians*, and thinking that had been their main Body fled, till finding their Mistake, they return'd, join'd the rest, and all charg'd, and fought. In that Temple they rested till it was Day, when they set out for *Tecopatlan*, a large Town, along a stony Way, and call'd it *de los Patos*, or of Geese, because there were many. The Inhabitants fled, they rested there two Days, because they found Provisions, and proceeded on their Way to *Tlascala*, through a Country well inhabited, much molested by the *Indians*, and Hunger, for they fed on Herbs,

The HISTORY of *America*. 77

Herbs, and one *Spaniard* being near starving, ripp'd open a dead Man, and eat his Liver; for which *Cortes* order'd him to be Hang'd, but it was not done because many interceded. *James de Ordaz* found a great Multitude of *Indians* in a Break, halted a little to draw up his Men, the others thought he had done it for Fear, a brave *Spaniard* snatch'd the Colours from *Barahona*, and cry'd *Santiago*, that is, *St. James*, and fall on, let those that can follow me; which they all did, being then so us'd to Fight, that they expos'd themselves to the Arrows without any Fear. They kill'd many *Indians*, the rest fled, and the Way was left open for the Rear. The *Indians* follow'd through the Plain, and a Soldier, whose Name was *Hernando Alonso*, being Hungry, stepp'd eight Paces aside to eat some *Cherries*. *Alonso de Avila* darted a Spear at him, and wounded his Arm, so that he was Lam'd. This Severity was requisite for the Preservation of them all, because as soon as the *Indians* laid hold of one, they sacrific'd him. Hunger pinch'd, there was nothing to eat, but *Sorrel*, *Cherries*, and the Reeds of *Indian* Wheat, which was dreadful, and the greatest Pity was for the Sick. They lay at Night in a small Town, and *Martin de Gamboa's* Horse being kill'd, as he fought bravely, they eat him for Supper, *Cortes* being present at the dividing of him, the Head falling to the Share of seven or eight, who feasted on it. Here four *Spaniards* came up, who had stay'd behind, being quite spent with Hunger among the many *Cherry-Trees* there were in the Way. The *Tlascallans* bore it with wonderful Resolution, and it was remarkable to see how they behav'd themselves in Dangers; in this Retreat they begg'd the Assistance of God, prostrating themselves on the Ground, biting the Earth, tearing up the Grass, and lifting up their Eyes to Heaven, said, O ye Gods, do not forsake us in this Danger, since you have

78 The HISTORY of America.

have Power over all Men, grant that by your Assistance we may get out of it.

THE *Spaniards* march'd the next Morning out of the little Town, the *Indians* furiously pursuing, and pressing upon the Spears and Swords. When they came into a spacious Plain, a very large *Indian*, extraordinary Gay, with Plumes of Feathers, a Target, and a wooden Sword, challeng'd any one *Spaniard*, *Alonso de Ojeda* went out towards him, and after him *John Cortes*, a Black Slave belonging to the General; but the *Indian* would not stay, either because they were two, or else to draw them into some Ambush. When the *Mexicans* had sacrific'd the Christians they had in their City, an infinite Number of them march'd out well arm'd, and accouter'd, and above two hundred thousand of them joining in the Fields of *Otumba*, where the *Spaniards* then were, attack'd them with an hideous Noise of their Shouts, and musical Instruments, and being all clad in White, the Field look'd as if it had been cover'd with Snow. This Time the *Spaniards* gave themselves for lost, and the boldest among them own'd it. *Cortes* drawing them together, made a Speech, putting them in Mind of their Duty upon that Occasion, to show they were Christians that fought against Infidels, assuring them of the Divine Assistance. Then he drew them up, posted the Horses, and order'd that, if they should be forc'd to retire, every one should carry a sick or wounded Man, and then the Barbarians beginning to encompass the Christians, a most bloody Battle was begun, the *Indians* rushing in upon the *Spaniards*, without Fear of Death. *Cortes* with a Wound in one Hand, and another by a Blow of a Stone on his Head, went from Place to Place fighting with much Bravery. His Horse being there hurt in the Mouth, and *Cortes* alighting to take another, he broke loose, and did much

Mischief

Mischief among the *Indians*, kicking and biting. Two *Spaniards* brought him off, for fear he should be shot, though he had several Wounds on his Neck and Buttocks. The *Indians* press'd so hard, that the Horsemen not being able to stand their Ground, drew close to the Foot, so that they fought in a Heap, looking upon themselves as lost, though the Officers perform'd their Duty to a wonder, and *Cortes* was every where, giving the necessary Orders. He observ'd, that a great Man was carry'd on a Bier, issuing his Orders, richly clad, with Plumes of Feathers, and a gilt Target, and that the Royal Badge, or Standard, which stuck up at his Back, was a Gold Net rising ten Spans, and that about him there was a great Number of prime Persons, richly clad. He resolv'd to hazard himself, to attack that Man, and accordingly rush'd in among the *Indians*. *John de Salamanca* follow'd him on a cream-colour'd Mare. As he went he wounded many with his Spear, struck such as came near with his Stirrups, came up to that great Man, wounded, and beat him down, *John de Salamanca* alighted, cut off his Head, and took away his Standard. This prov'd so advantageous, that the *Indians* seeing the Standard beaten down, began to retire, and the chiefest of them carry'd off their General's Body with much Lamentation, which was none of the least happy Adventures *Cortes* met with in the Course of his Life. The *Spaniards* made the best of their Victory, and it was thought they kill'd twenty thousand. Much Wealth was gain'd by the Plunder after this Battle, which was extraordinary remarkable, and look'd upon to have been gain'd, under God, by the Valour of *Cortes*. The Plumes, and Ensigns that were taken, the *Spaniards* afterwards distributed at *Tlascala*. Here an *Indian* signaliz'd himself, being one of *Maxiscatzin's* Captains, who was afterwards call'd *Don Antonio Calmeca-bica*, dy'd afterwards at 130 Years of Age, and always

ways gave a good Account of this Action, having been one of the prime Men in this Retreat.

THE *Spaniards* rejoicing at this Victory, tho' tir'd and hungry, made to a great House they spy'd in a Plain, no *Indians* then disturbing them, unless it were with Cries from the Mountains. There they stay'd that Night, and as soon as it was Day advanc'd a considerable Way on plain Ground, then going up a small Hill, they found a great Spring of good Water, where they halted, and refresh'd themselves, for till then they had very little, and not good. They came to *Gualipa*, a Town of two thousand Houses, belonging to the Republick of *Tlascala*. The People of that Place went out to receive them, showing extraordinary Compassion for their Sufferings; the Women wept at the Sight of them, and they were caress'd, and supply'd with all Necessaries in a most affectionate Manner. *Cortes* bless'd God, for that being routed and flying, he found such Entertainment among Infidels. Those People ask'd, Why they would not believe them, when they always told them they should not trust the *Mexicans*, who were treacherous? That Day in the Afternoon came to them *Maxiscatzin*, and another Lord, who was Governour of *Guaxocingo*, and when christned call'd *Don John Xvarez*, and many others, as did young *Xicotencatl*, but this last did it only in a Compliment. They brought much Provision. *Cortes* receiv'd them with Joy, but they were amaz'd to see him and so many others wounded, and shatter'd. *Maxiscatzin* in that Astonishment deliver'd himself very elegantly, saying, That since his Valour was sufficient to withstand all the *Mexican* Empire, there had been some Treachery in the Case; comforting, and bidding him be easy, for since he was alive he might revenge that Injury, being among the *Tlascallans* his sincere Friends, who he promis'd would assist him with all their Power. All the other Lords

gave

gave the same Assurances, and *Cortes* returning Thanks in most courteous Manner, producing the *Mexican* General's Standard and Arms deliver'd the same to him, and gave the rest much of the Booty taken at the Battle of *Otumba*. The other Commanders and Soldiers, following the Example of *Cortes*, distributed abundance of the Booty they had gain'd in that Fight, which was very acceptable, as being *Mexican* Trophies. Here *Cortes* was inform'd, that about twelve Days before *John Juste*, and *Morla*, with about thirty *Spaniards*, had set out from *Gualipa*, carrying *Cortes's* Equipage to *Mexico*, and that tho' they fought well, they were all kill'd by the *Mexican* Garrisons, together with one of *Maxiscatzin's* Sons, whom he sent along with them. This was afterwards verifi'd, for they found cut on a Tree, *This Way pass'd the unfortunate John Juste, and his unhappy Companions, being reduc'd to such Want, that he gave a Wedge of Gold weighing eight hundred Pieces of Eight for a few little Cakes of Indian Wheat.* Thence they proceeded to *Tlascala*, and the Country being populous, the Roads swarm'd with the Inhabitants coming out to see them. The Magistrates met *Cortes*, with above two hundred thousand Men in good Order. The Women and Children went foremost, and wept as soon as they saw the *Spaniards*, cursing the treacherous *Mexicans*. Next came the Citizens, and receiv'd them in most loving Manner. The Lords of the four Quarters took *Cortes* into the Middle of them, there was much Musick at the Entrance into the City, he was quarter'd in *Maxiscatzin's* House, who made him a great Entertainment, and in his Court there was much Dancing and Rejoycing. All the Men were very well quarter'd.

C H A P. IV.

Most of the Spaniards require Cortes to go away to the Sea Coast; an Embassy from the Mexicans to the Tlascallans; Cortes makes War on Tepeaca; founds the Colony of Segura de la Frontera, and applies himself to reduce the Parts about Tlascala.

AT *Tlascala*, Cortes found Captain *John Paez*, whom he had left there with eighty *Spaniards*, and was glad to hear, that he had been well us'd. He assur'd him that *Maxiscatzin* was his real Friend, and that young *Xicotencatl* hated him: When he understood, that *Maxiscatzin* had offer'd *Paez* one hundred thousand Men to march with the eighty *Spaniards* to his Relief; considering how much Service that Succour might have done him, though *Paez* excus'd himself, alledging, that he had observ'd his Orders, and knew him to be a severe Commander; he check'd, and gave him some hard Words, calling him Coward, unworthy of the Degree of a Captain, and adding, he deserv'd to be hang'd, for that brave Commanders in such Perils, are not to adhere literally to their Orders, but to relieve where the Distress is greatest. *Ojeda* was the Person that entertain'd the greatest Friendship with the *Tlascallans*, and brought Provisions from the Country Towns. Some said to him, "Why came you hither to devour our Substance; go your way; you came in a wretched Condition from *Mexico*, being turn'd out like cowardly Wo-

men,

The HISTORY of America. 83

“men, and more to this Effect.” He gave them good Words, and all was hush’d. *Cortes* was much concern’d at it, tho’ he took no Notice, but being inform’d that *Xicotencatl* was the Occasion of it, he acquainted *Maxiscatzin*, who said, that whilst he liv’d, no Man should presume to affront him, and yet he kept himself upon his Guard. A Numness seiz’d his Head, occasion’d by his Wound, and follow’d by a violent Fever, he was in much Danger, but it pleas’d God that being well taken care of he recover’d. Whilst his Distemper held him, those few *Spaniards* he had, having suffer’d so much, and hearing some Words from the *Indians* like those *Ojeda* had reported, mutter’d, that they would return to the Sea Coast, alledging, that *Cortes*’s Contrivances to return to *Mexico* would be their Ruin, and that they were fating to be sacrific’d and eaten, as the *Indians* design’d. Few being of the contrary Opinion, the greater Number with a Notary formally requir’d *Cortes* to go away to *Vera Cruz*, to avoid the Dangers that threatned, entering their Protestation as to all evil Consequences. *Cortes* answer’d with much Gravity, and Calmness. In the first Place he extoll’d their past Actions, put them in mind of the Victories they had obtain’d, and the ancient Valour of the *Spanish* Nation; blam’d their Faint-heartedness, for that having made the World ring with the Fame of their Exploits, they should then flinch, which would turn to their Shame. He promis’d them much Wealth, good Fortune and Prosperity; dispell’d the Fear they had conceiv’d of the *Tlascallans*; said, he would try their Friendship by making War on the *Tepeacans*, who had lately slain several *Spaniards*; he put them in Mind, that all he had said to them had prov’d true, that he had perform’d all he promis’d, and that in case the Affair of *Tepeaca* did not succeed, he would find some proper Expedient for them to return with Honour to *Vera Cruz*. This appeas’d them

84 *The HISTORY of America.*

for the present, but he had several Consultations with the Chief Commanders, about depending on the *Tlascallans*, some affirming, that there was no trusting of them, so that if they took a small Number of them the War could not be carry'd on, and if they had many it was dangerous. Others argu'd, that the Enmity between those two Nations was well known, as were the Advantages the *Tlascallans* reap'd by the War with the *Culnas*, for which Reason their Fidelity was not to be call'd in Question. Cortes having maturely weigh'd this Affair, and made some Enquiry into the Matter, adher'd to this Advice, which made him believe, that his good Fortune would not forsake him in this Enterprize, but ever prove favourable.

THE *Mexicans* having offer'd up their Sacrifices return'd Thanks to their Gods, repair'd their City, and understanding how well the *Spaniards* had been receiv'd in *Tlascala*, resolv'd to send six Men of Note Embassadors thither, with a Present of Cloth, Featherworks, and Salt, which were the Things those People wanted most. Notice being given of their Coming, they were met as usual, and the Council being assembled to hear them, the eldest deliver'd his Present and said, " That as they were Relations, spoke
 " the same Language, and observ'd the same Religion,
 " it would be convenient to put an end to the long
 " Wars that had been between them, and that they
 " should partake of those Things wherein the *Mexi-*
 " *can* Empire abounded, and they wanted, besides
 " other Advantages that would accrue by Peace; and
 " therefore, in order to bring that to pass, it was proper they should sacrifice those few Christians, at
 " whom their Gods were offended for many Reasons,
 " and who would insult them in the same Manner, if
 " they did not look to themselves; for which Reason
 " they ought to make Satisfaction to their Gods, and
 " join in Alliance with the *Mexicans*, which they
 " would

“ would soon find to turn to their Advantage.” The Present was receiv’d, and they said, they would consider of it. When the Embassadors were withdrawn, their Proposal was debated. *Xicotencatl* and others spoke up for the Confederacy, asserting, that it was better to maintain their antient Customs, with those of their own Nation, than to learn new from a strange fierce People, who would command in all Places. *Maxiscatzin* defending the *Spaniards*, advis’d to be Friends with them, alledging, the Fidelity and Honour due to Guests. He extoll’d their Valour, assuring them by Means of it of the same Advantages the *Mexicans* propos’d; and particularly insisted, that the Friendship of the *Spaniards* ought not to be slighted, for as much as it might contribute to enlarge the Dominions of their Commonwealth, which they could not expect from the *Mexicans*, whose Ambition and Perfidiousness was well known; besides that if once the *Spaniards* were expell’d, no Question was to be made, but that they would be greater Enemies to them than before, tho’ it were only for having entertain’d them in *Tlascala*. *Xicotencatl* still obstinately insisted that the *Mexicans* should be comply’d with, alledging, that the *Spaniards* were ill Men, and both Sides contradicting one another, it came to such a Height, that *Maxiscatzin* gave *Xicotencatl* a Thrust, to check his Insolence, and threw him down some Steps, telling him, he was wicked, and a Traytor to his Country. The *Mexicans* return’d home without any other Answer, and reported what had hapned. *Cortes* being immediately inform’d of all these Particulars, return’d Thanks to *Maxiscatzin*, promising he would endeavour to make good all he had in his Name declar’d to the Republick.

Xicotencatl being satisfy’d that *Cortes* would be acquainted with what had been done in the Council, went to him, and said, He had try’d all Ways to gain Honour by opposing him, but that since the Gods

had

86 *The HISTORY of America.*

had made him invincible, he begg'd he would take him into his Favour, offering his Person, and desiring he would make Tryal of him in carrying on the War against *Tepeaca*, *Acazingo*, and *Quechula*, since they had offended him, breaking the Friendship contracted with him, and their plighted Faith, going over to the *Culuas*, and killing the *Spaniards* that were marching through their Country; besides that to make War on *Mexico*, as he intended, it was proper first to take off their Confederates, and begin with *Tepeaca*. *Cortes* embrac'd him, returning Thanks for his good Will, and promising to take such Measures for the Service of the Republick, that it should be reveng'd of all its Enemies. Fifty Days were now pass'd since *Cortes's* Arrival at *Tlascala*, after his Return from *Mexico*, and *Xicotencatl* press'd him daily, saying, the Men were ready whensoever he should think fit. Tho' *Cortes* had more need to attend his Cure, than to enter upon fresh Fatigues so soon, for fear of losing so favourable an Opportunity, understanding that the *Tepeacans*, and the *Mexican* Forces with them, had secur'd all the Passes that led to the Sea; he sent Messengers to the *Tepeacans*, and to the other Towns, desiring them to quit the Friendship of the *Mexicans*, and to embrace that of the *Tlascallans*, and he would forgive them the Injury done him in breaking their Faith, which they had engag'd to him to be his Friends, when he march'd to *Tlascala*. They made little Account of his Offer, but rather scoffing at it, resolv'd to adhere to the *Mexicans*. *Cortes* signify'd the same to the Council of *Tlascala*, and they being Enemies to the *Tepeacans*, naturally inclin'd to War, and desirous to please *Cortes*, who had gain'd all the prime Men, having sent them many Presents from *Mexico*, and doing them much Honour, and believing that the War would be very advantageous to their Republick,

publick, offer'd to supply him with fifty thousand Soldiers.

Cortes finding all Things succeed to his Mind, and that it was not only just, but necessary to chastise the Injury done by the *Tepeacans*, began to make ready for his March; but resolv'd first to send the King an Account of all that had befallen him till that Time, because he had not done it since he set out from *Villa Rica* for *Mexico*. He told his Majesty all his Successes against *Tlascala*, his Alliance with those People, and others, and how faithfully they stood by him; the Affair of *Chulula*; his Misfortune at *Mexico*, his Design to conquer the same, with other Particulars relating to it, showing all his Disappointments in that City to have been occasion'd by *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, who could not be brought to an Accommodation, for which Reason he kept him Prisoner at *Vera Cruz*. He demanded Men, and Horses, these being the main Support of that War, promis'd to subdue that vast Empire, with little Assistance, and without Expence to the Crown, for he offer'd to pay for the Horses, Arms, and Ammunition that should be sent him. He pray'd some Reward might be bestow'd on *Ferome de Aguilar*, the Interpreter, who did extraordinary Service. He sent away *Alonso Mendoza* with this Account, and the Value of thirty thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, and the Alcaldes and Regidores of *Villa Rica*, who were always with *Cortes*, writ at the same time.

Tepeaca being but eight Leagues from *Tlascala*, the Inhabitants knew what was coming upon them, and on their side prepar'd for War; but we must not omit here to mention the Affair of the *Spaniards* those People destroy'd. The News of the great Wealth of *New Spain* being spread Abroad throughout the Islands, several *Spaniards* made their Way to *Vera Cruz*, where about fifty or sixty of them joining together, set out for *Mexico* by the Way of *Tepeaca*, at the Time that

Cortes

Cortes was retir'd to *Tlascala*, and all the Country having been inform'd, that the War was declar'd against the *Spaniards* at *Mexico*, the *Tepeacans* resolv'd to kill them and their Captain, whose Name was *Coronado*, which they put in Execution, and the like was done in other Parts, concluding that the *Spaniards* at *Mexico* would be all destroy'd, as the *Mexicans* every where reported. *Cortes* march'd out of *Tlascala*, with his *Spaniards*, and six thousand *Indian* Archers, till such Time as the fifty thousand *Tlascallans* were rais'd to be under the Command of *Xicorencarl*, assisted by *Alonso de Ojeda* and *John Marquez*, who spoke that Language tolerably. He advanc'd three Leagues, and took up his Quarters at *Cinpancingo*, whither so great a Multitude resorted from the Lordships of *Guaxocingo* and *Chulula*, that it was not doubted but that they amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand fighting Men. The People of *Zacatepeque*, a Town in Alliance with *Tepeaca*, being inform'd that the Army was marching, laid a great Ambush in the Corn Fields, and as soon as the *Spaniards*, and a considerable Number of *Indians* were past, fell upon them ; but they being upon their Guard, the Musketeers and Cross-bow Men, with the Horse, did the Enemy much Harm, though they were obstructed by the Corn. The *Tlascallans* met with more Opposition, though supported by the *Spaniards*. The Battle was obstinate, because the Corn hindred the *Spaniards* from advancing, and the *Tepeacans* still receiv'd fresh Supplies, however by mere Dint of Valour they were put to Flight. *Ojeda* rode on a large Horse, and discover'd some Structures beyond the Corn Fields, went thither, with a considerable Number of *Tlascallans*, and found the same to be a stately Palace, which he possess'd himself off, and on the Top of it display'd the Standard of the Republick of *Tlascala*, where a great Slaughter was made of those that fled thither to save themselves. *Cortes* spy'd the
Standard,

Standard, and because it grew late, repair'd to it, the *Tlascalans* and others carrying a great Number of Prisoners. The *Indian* Allies had a good Supper that Night of Legs and Arms, for besides the wooden Spits, the Number whereof was incredible, there were fifty thousand Pots of human Flesh boiling. The *Spaniards* star'd ill three Days they continu'd in that Place, Water and Provisions being scarce. Some of the Enemies Soldiers came to view the Camp, and see what was doing, and there were several notable Challenges between them and the *Tlascalans*.

FROM hence *Cortes* set out for the City of *Acazingo*, which also espous'd the Quarrel of *Tepeaca*, and all the adjacent Villages being burnt, as was thought expedient to reduce them the sooner, an infinite Multitude sally'd out of the City, who boldly attack'd the *Tlascalan* Army, so that there ensu'd an obstinate Engagement, but the *Tlascalans* defeated them with great Slaughter, and little Damage to themselves. They were pursu'd into the very City, which was found entirely abandon'd by the Inhabitants, and there *Cortes* stay'd five Days, sending out several Parties to plunder, and destroy the Country. After the Loss of this Battle, Advice was brought that the *Mexican* Garrisons had left the Country, whereupon *Cortes* thought fit, without any more Loss of Time to advance to *Tepeaca*, which Place he enter'd without any Opposition, and took up his Quarters there, the *Indian* Allies encamping abroad because they were so numerous. They continu'd in this Place several Days, making Excursions, but with Want of Provisions, the *Spaniards* catching abundance of the little Dogs of that Country, as they went to feed on the dead Bodies about the Fields, which were the Food of those Creatures. A Gentleman of *Tepeaca* repair'd to *Cortes* with some Provisions, perswading him to Peace, because they had no Hopes of any Succours from *Mexi-*

co, whither one of the three Lords of *Tepeaca* had been sent to ask for Relief, but he was never more heard of dead nor alive. *Cortes* answer'd, The Fault was all their own, for he had always offer'd it to them, and lov'd Peace better than War. Hereupon the Inhabitants presently began to return to the City, where *Cortes* order'd many he had taken, to be sold, and branded, excepting Women and Children, dividing the Profits between his own Forces, and the Republick of *Tlascala*, after deducting the fifth for the King. The Republick of *Tlascala* was highly pleas'd to see *Cortes* share the Booty so punctually with them; besides that their City was full of Slaves, Salt, Cotton, Featherworks, Jewels, and all other Things they had occasion for.

THE City of *Tepeaca* being perfectly reduc'd, *Marina* eating a Collation with some other Women, understood that the *Mexicans* were preparing to fall upon the *Spaniards*, when they least suspected it. *Cortes* seiz'd some that were nearest about him, who he was inform'd knew of it, and having examin'd into the Affair, punish'd them severely. The *Mexicans* having Advice, that *Cortes* was march'd to make War on *Tepeaca*, took Care to send Armies to several Parts, secure their Frontiers, perswade their Allies to stand by them, and make all possible Preparations, not only to defend themselves, for that they look'd upon as a Matter of no Difficulty, but to offend the *Spaniards*; and like a subtle People sent the Heads of Horses, and other Things they had taken, to the several Provinces they suspected might be inclinable to forsake their Interest, giving out that *Cortes* was dead, and encouraging the People with the Hopes, that having no Commander, they would easily make an End of all the rest. This Notion so far prevail'd with those changeable People, that most of them revolted, though they had sworn Obedience to the King of *Spain*; and where-ever any

Spaniards

Spaniards were, they slaughter'd them. When all Things were settled at *Tepeaca*, and in the neighbouring Parts, *Cortes* sent some Commanders farther off, to reduce those that still held out, enjoining them to try all gentle and fair Means, and gave out, that he would return to *Tlascala*. The prime Men of *Tepeaca* then intreated him, that since they were become the King of *Spain's* Subjects, and would serve him faithfully, pursuant to the Oath they had taken, he would not forsake them, for that they fear'd the *Culhuans*, but in case he could not avoid going, he should leave some *Spaniards* there, or else they should be destroy'd. *Cortes* answer'd, That he would endeavour to satisfy them, and that they needed not to fear the *Mexicans*, for he hop'd in God they should soon see them quite disabled; and thinking the Situation of that City very convenient to secure the Way to *Villa Rica*, as commanding the Passes, one of them call'd *Siculchima*, through which the *Spaniards* came into those Parts, and the other *Quochula*, a League and an half from *Tepeaca*, which also leads to *Villa Rica*, and all other Places next the Sea, and that the Province is in the midst of the Country, near to the Republicks of *Tlascala*, *Guaxocingo* and *Chulula*, on which it border'd, and on another Side with the *Culhuas*, who being so close by, might occasion new Commotions there; upon all these Considerations, and to please the *Tepeacans*, who had desir'd a Garrison of him, he sent for the Alcaldes and Regidores of the Council, who were with him, and told them it was convenient to settle a Colony there, for the Reasons aforesaid, who all approving of it, he appointed the proper Officers, and *Ferome de Aguilar* to be Regidor, being always ready to requite those that deserv'd it. He call'd this Place *Segura de la Frontera*, that is, the Security of the Frontier, because founded upon the aforesaid Motives, and its lying on the Frontiers of *Culua*.

IT hapned at this Time, that two thousand *Mexicans* came to the City of *Guacachula*, being sent by *Moteczuma's* Brother, who succeeded him in the Empire, with a Design to prevent that Lord's confederating with *Cortes*, and to obstruct his Passage, in Case he attempted to march to *Mexico*, as they began to apprehend. The Lord of *Guacachula* not able to bear the Insolences of the *Mexicans*, who not satisfy'd with devouring what they had, took away their Wives and Daughters, committing many other Outrages, sent Messengers to *Cortes*, to beg his Assistance, which they did with Tears in their Eyes, affirming that he would do them a signal Favour. *Cortes* resolv'd not to let slip so favourable an Opportunity to encourage his Friends, and chastize the *Mexicans* for the great Injury he thought they had done him. Having return'd Thanks to the Lord of *Guacachula*, and assur'd him, that if he had not been so well advis'd, he must inevitably have perish'd; the next Morning he sent *James de Ordas*, and *Alonso de Avila* with three hundred *Spaniards*, twelve Horsemen, and a Number of *Tlascallans*, who with the Messengers lay that Night at *Chulula*, and the next Day proceeded to some Country Houses of the Lordship of *Guaxocingo*, whither such Numbers of Men resorted to them from the other Confederate Lordships, that they were amaz'd, and some fancy'd it was with a treasonable Design. *Ordas* and *Avila* entertaining the same Notion, seiz'd upon the Commanders of *Guaxocingo*, and sent them Prisoners to *Cortes*, returning himself to *Chulula* to wait his Orders. *Cortes* was very much concern'd at this Accident, being griev'd to see his best Friends confin'd. However he examin'd into the Matter, and finding no Cause to suspect the Prisoners, they alledging, the Jealousy might arise from the great Number of Men they had drawn together, and saying, they would not carry so many for the future; he caus'd them to be

set at Liberty, bidding them carry many more, and he should be pleas'd with it; that they might not think the *Spaniards* had been afraid of them; then giving them some Presents, and declaring he had been displeas'd at the Usage, he resolv'd to go in Person, and to carry one hundred Foot, and ten Horsemen. When he had join'd *Ordas* and *Avila*, they march'd on, being follow'd by one hundred thousand *Indians*. He sent to bid the Lord of *Guacachula* be careful that his March was kept private, to the end to surprize the *Culuas*, but if that could not be, that he should take up Arms against them if they fled. The Secret was so well kept, that nothing was known of his Coming, till he was within half a Quarter of a League of the Enemy. They were for moving to defend the Entrance into the City, relying on the Assistance of the Inhabitants, who were immediately run to Arms, and therefore those Parties that had march'd out return'd into the City, and *Cortes* arriv'd with twenty Horse, at the Time when the Fight began there, and some Houses were fir'd. As soon as the *Mexicans* spy'd him they fled, many of them being kill'd, especially in a great Temple, which was very strong, where most of the Commanders, and abundance of their Men defended themselves, and there two Gentlemen were taken Prisoners, of whom *Cortes* ask'd several Questions; and they told, to what Intent they were come to *Guacachula*, by Order of the new King *Pitagoazin*, Brother to *Moteczuma*, who was resolv'd rather to dye, than to suffer any *Spaniards* to come into his Dominions.

Guacachula is seated in a Plain, enclos'd with a Wall three Fathoms high, and twelve Foot broad, with a good Parapet, and this Wall joins to a Mountain near the City, which serves instead of a Wall there, as being very steep. It has but two Gates, and there are Steps to ascend to it. In the City there are many
beautiful

beautiful Houses ; many Towns are subject to it, and the Territory abounds in Pasture and Water, and it is close to the snowy Mountain, call'd the burning Mountain. There are Abundance of Orchards, the Soil being every where fruitful. The Inhabitants amounted to five or six thousand Families, and had a great Market, as in other Cities. *Cortes* was inform'd that there were *Mexican* Troops in another City call'd *Tzucan*, three Leagues from *Guacachula*, and that they design'd to fright him. He march'd thither with his *Spaniards* and *Indians*, who never forsook him ; found about eight thousand Men drawn up in the Market-Place, sent them a Message, which they refusing to hear ; he fell on, and they immediately fled, were pursu'd, and many slain. *Cortes* order'd their Idols to be burnt, that they might the sooner submit ; he then sent Messengers to call some of the Lords of the Town, offering them Pardon, who came, excusing themselves, by alledging that the *Culus* had compell'd them to revolt. He told them, that if they would call the rest, and bring the Inhabitants into the City, he would forgive them, and they came accordingly, fill'd the City, and swore Allegiance to the King of *Spain*. *Cortes* ask'd, which was the Lord of that City, they answer'd, they had none, because when they were call'd to *Mexico* to make War on the *Spaniards*, he dy'd there, but that the Lordship appertain'd to the Son of that dead Man, who said, he would be Lord, if *Cortes* so order'd it, and he thought fit it should be so, but some said, it did not belong to him, because he had been begot on a Slave. Hereupon the Lord of *Guacachula*, who was present, said, That he being marry'd to the legitimate Daughter of the deceas'd, by whom he had a Son, his Right was better. *Cortes* enquir'd into the Truth of it, and whether that Succession was according to their Custom. They all answer'd, it was, whereupon *Cortes* order'd the Boy, who

who was eight Years of Age, to be produc'd, and they all admitted him for their Lord, with much Joy ; and because he was unfit to govern at that Age, the Government was put into the Hands of him that first claim'd the Lordship, jointly with two other *Guacachulans*, whom the Lord nam'd. This City is seated at the Foot of a great Hill, on the Top whereof is a large Fortrefs of such sort, that several *Spaniards* thought it look'd like *Malaga*, by Reason that it was very sightly without, and had many Towers ; on the one side of it is a mighty River, and on the other the Mountain. A great Market is kept there, the Land is fruitful, there are Gold Mines in its Territory, and the Inhabitants are about three thousand. The News of this Victory being spread abroad, many Towns sent to make their Submission to *Cortes*, and thus the Country was restor'd to Peace.

C H A P. V.

Cortes secures the Road from Vera Cruz to Tlascala ; Garay sends Ships to Panuco ; Brigantines built to conquer Mexico ; a new King chosen there ; the Spanish and Indian Forces muster'd, they march on their Enterprize.

WHILST *Cortes* was at *Tepeaca*, he sent some Commanders to several Parts of the Province, to reduce the Towns that held out. One of them went to *Tecamachalco*, in the Jurisdiction of *Tepeaca*, where the *Spaniards* found much to do, but at length the

the Natives were subdu'd, and above two thousand of them made Slaves, and distributed like the rest, to the great Satisfaction of the Confederate States, which triumph'd over their Enemies, and abounded in all those Things they had wanted before. At *Tustebeque*, whither only eighty *Spaniards* were sent, under Captain *Salzedo*, they were all Slain, through their own Heedlessness, though they sold their Lives very dear. *Cortes* was much concern'd at this Loss, and therefore sent *James de Ordas*, and *Alonso de Avila*, with a few Horsemen, and about twenty thousand Confederate *Indians*, who reveng'd that Action sufficiently, killing and taking very many, and found that the *Culuas* fought resolutely with long Pipes, the Points of them hardned at the Fire, like the *Spaniards*; however they were vanquish'd, and the Confederate *Indians* enrich'd, with the Prisoners, and much Booty of Garments, Jewels, Arms, and Plumes of Feathers, which they valu'd most. *Cortes* likewise sent another Commander with a good Number of Forces, against the Town of *Tecalco*, still in the Jurisdiction of *Tepeaca*, who found it abandon'd, and because the Road to *Vera Cruz* was not yet very safe, *Christopher de Olid* and *John Rodriguez de Villafuerte* were sent with two hundred *Spanish* Foot, ten Horsemen, and a Number of *Indians* to secure it, and with them went *John Nuñez Sedeño*, *Lagos*, and *Alonso de Mata*. They found all the Country in Arms, endur'd much Hunger, for there was not so much as Dogs; fought several Times, and endeavour'd to take the *Indians*, that came down from the Mountains to the Desert, call'd of the Lakes, to seize the *Spaniards* that pass'd along by threes and fours, many coming from the Islands, whom when they had fatned, they kill'd driving them about their Courts by way of Sport with Goads, and then cutting them in Pieces, sent Presents about to their Friends, saying, that the Flesh of those Men so baited was delicious. About
forty

forty of the most guilty and cruel of those *Indians* were taken, and being put into a Court to be slain, they very freely stripp'd themselves, danc'd, and merrily expected Death singing, and recommending their Souls to their Gods. The News of their being executed soon spread through the Country, and was of use for suppressing of those Robbers. As they were hunting for them, enduring much Hunger, a Sailor went up to the Top of a Mountain, whence he discover'd a Valley, with abundance of People in it, they went down, and took many *Indians*, all whom they again dismiss'd, because it did not appear that they were guilty. There they satisfy'd their Hunger, then returning to *Tepeaca*, after having spent thirty Days upon this Expedition, there found *Cortes*, who was return'd from *Guacachula*.

BEFORE *Cortes* set out for *Tzucan*, at the Instance of the *Franciscan* Friers, the Boy to whom that Lordship had been given, was Baptiz'd, *Peter de Alvarado* being his Godfather. They took him along with them, and when they were at *Tepeaca*, being very melancholy, he ask'd, When he was to be sacrific'd? The Friers made much of, and told him, That God never will'd the Death of any Sinner, but that he should be converted, and live; that he was to understand, that the *Spaniards* were suppressing that abominable Practice of the *Indians*. Then the Boy said, He heartily desir'd to be a Christian. Several Towns sent to *Cortes*, affirming that they had neither kill'd any *Spaniards*, nor done them any Injury, and therefore desir'd to be admitted into his Favour; all whom he dismiss'd very well satisfy'd. Captain *Barrientos* arriv'd here, having been sent for to *Chinantla* by *Cortes*, much fearing lest he had been kill'd as well as the rest, and receiv'd him with much Joy, perceiving he had behav'd himself so discreetly with the *Indians*, that when he took his Leave, they intreated him, with

Tears in their Eyes, not to leave them, and if he must go, that no other Commander but he should come to them, because he had aided them in the Wars they had with their Neighbours, and by his Conduct they had obtain'd many Victories, which gain'd him much Esteem, and was the Reason why they did not kill him when they seiz'd the other *Spaniards* that were about the Country. The Affairs of *Tepeaca* being settled, *Cortes* sent away *Alonso de Mendoza*, before spoken of, for *Spain*, with fresh Letters, giving the King an Account of all that had hapned; that one hundred and fifty Leagues along the Coast had been discover'd, and brought under Obedience, from the great River of *Tabasco* to that of *Panuco*. He desir'd to have Religious Men, and Priests sent him, to convert the *Indians*, and to administer the Sacraments to the *Spaniards*; as also Cattle to breed for the Relief of his Forces. The Council of the new Colony of *Segura de la Frontera* writ to the same Effect, applauding *Cortes*, and praying he might be continu'd, and supported in his Command. *Cortes* sent another Ship with Duplicates of the same Letters to the Island of *Hispaniola*, to be sent into *Spain* by the Council there, acquainting them with all the same Particulars, and praying that they would for his Money send him Supplies of Ammunition, Arms, Horses, and some Cattle, and permit such as thought fit to go over to his Assistance, provided they were Men of Honour, and such as might be confided in for doing their Duty, and not Mutinous.

Cortes finding his Affairs to prosper, and resolving to return to *Tlascala*, to forward the Enterprize against *Mexico*, there came to him the Lord of *Chinamla*, bringing a considerable Present, whom he receiv'd in honourable Manner, kept him at his Table, and sent him back to his Country well pleas'd with such Gifts as he highly valu'd. The *Spaniards* of the Colony of

Segura

Segura de la Frontera, settled themselves at *Tepeaca*, in a House that was strongly situated, *Cortes* leaving *Peter de Yrzio*, a discreet and brave Man for their Captain, and with him *Francis de Orofco*, and all the sick Men, after which he set out for *Tlascala*. By the Way he receiv'd Advice, that after the Ships of *Francis de Garay*, of which an Account has been given before, were return'd to *Jamaica*, that Gentleman resolv'd to send again to make a Settlement on the River of *Panuco*, which is fifty Leagues to the Westward of *Villa Rica*, at a Time when all the Lords of that Province were in Alliance with *Cortes*, and offer'd to pay their Homage to the King of *Spain*. Accordingly Captain *James Camargo*, sent from *Jamaica* by the said *Garay*, who still insisted upon planting a Colony there, arriv'd at the River of *Panuco*, with three Caravels, carrying one hundred and fifty Sea and Landmen, seven Horses, and some Guns. He sail'd seven Leagues up the River, came to an Anchor near some Dwellings, landed Men, and the Natives, who by Direction of *Cortes*, had made their Submission to the King, having been order'd to use any *Spaniards* well, that should happen to come into those Parts, receiv'd them in friendly manner, and for some time supply'd them with Necessaries; but afterwards, whether they grew weary of maintaining them, or being provok'd by them, they assembled in great Numbers, and sent a threatening Message to Captain *Camargo*, who resenting it, would have taken Revenge; but the *Indians* lying in wait at the Time when he was going to burn a Town, fell upon, and routed him, some of his Men making their Escape by Land, and others by Sea. The Caravels sail'd down the River, pursu'd by abundance of Canoes, till they were drove out of the Harbour. The seven Horses and eighteen Foot were kill'd there. They left one Caravel behind, and imbarc'd in such Haste on the other two, that they could not furnish them-

selves with Provisions ; for which Reason they were oblig'd, a few Days after, to set ashore those Men that were best in Health, they choosing rather to hazard their Lives on Land, than to starve at Sea, and to proceed along the Coast, to seek out some of *Cortes's Spaniards*. The Natives thinking they had belong'd to him, conducted them fifteen or twenty Leagues, till they came to *Naotlan*, afterwards call'd *Almeria*, and being well entertain'd there, they went to *Villa Rica*, which is twelve Leagues from *Naotlan*. The Caravels sailing on for that Port, one of them sunk four Leagues short of it, but all the Men were sav'd aboard the other, the which also sunk ten Days after in the Harbour, and it was a great Mercy that those aboard the Ships were sav'd, which could not have been, had not some Provisions been given them at *Almeria*. *Cortes's* Lieutenant at *Villa Rica* treated those Men well, and he himself complain'd of *Garay*, as obstructing his Undertakings, and alarming the Country which he had reduc'd under the King's Obedience, beseeching his Majesty to forbid the same, and not to suffer any other Commander to molest him, since he had brought Things to such a pass for his Service, that much Glory would redound to God, and great Advantages to the Crown ; but this was not then regarded, the very Reverse being order'd, as shall be seen hereafter.

Cortes, though somewhat perplex'd with the Distemper of the Small Pox, which had spread it self all over the Country, and destroy'd very many, though those generally escap'd, who took the Advice of the *Spaniards* not to bathe themselves, nor pull off their Scabs, bent his Thoughts upon making the necessary Dispositions for the reducing of *Mexico*, having a good Number of *Spaniards* (though not so many as had been convenient) so many Confederates, and all the People inclinable to follow him, and in order to

it consider'd the Difficulty of the Lake, without being Master whereof it was impossible to gain the City by the Causeways. To this Effect he discours'd *Martin Lopez*, a Man of great Ability and Experience, telling him, that as four Brigantines had been built at *Mexico*, so twelve or thirteen might be built at *Tlascala*, and convey'd Piecemeal from that City to the Lake, which is thirteen Leagues, and having answer'd some Objections, because he could not go himself to keep *Christmas-Day* at *Tlascala*, as he had design'd, he sent the said *Lopez* before, to dispose all Things for that Work. He also sent four Ships that were at *Vera Cruz*, of *Narvaez's* Fleet, to *Hispaniola*, for Men, Arms, Horses, and Ammunition, with as much Gold and Silver as he thought sufficient for that use, and full Power to oblige him to the Payment if any fell short. He writ to the supreme Council, or Court there, to the Licenciate *Roderick de Figueroa*, and his Friends, acquainting them with the great Success God had till then been pleas'd to grant him, and what he had Reason to expect for the future ; and as Samples sent them Jewels, Feather-works, Cotton Garments and Cloth, the Strangeness and Value whereof was a convincing Testimony of the Riches of that Country, which stirr'd up very many to go over, though the Council would not grant Leave to all. Though *Cortes* was satisfy'd, that his Allies would supply him, yet he could not but consider, whether they would persevere to the End, and how he should maintain them in the Field, as great a Number of Men being requisite to attend the Provisions, as to Fight, because all was to be carry'd on their Backs. However he took Heart seeing what a Multitude of People there was, for all Uses, and how willing they appear'd to serve him. For the Lordship of *Zempoala*, beyond the Passes on the Mountains, along the Sea Coast, had above an hundred and twenty thousand Families in fifty Towns and Villages.

ges, with the Fortresses and strong Houses that were of their Alliance. In the Republick of *Tlascala*, within the Passes, there were sixty Lords of Vassals, and above an hundred and twenty thousand Families; the Lordship of *Chulula* forty thousand; the Provinces of *Tepeaca*, *Acazingo*, and *Quechula* eighty thousand; the Cities of *Guacachula* and *Zucan* twenty thousand, besides many other Towns and Lordships too tedious to mention.

Martin Lopez coming to *Tlascala*, to attend the Building of the Brigantines, deliver'd the Message from *Cortes* to the Regency, who immediately appointed Men to fell the Timber, and begin the Work. *Cortes* afterwards travelling to that City, it was wonderful to behold what Numbers of People flock'd from all the neighbouring Parts along the Road to look upon him as a triumphant Conqueror, bringing Presents, and desiring he would set Lords over them, because many dy'd of the Small-Pox; which he, to please them, readily did, enquiring who were the lawful Heirs, and they were the more respected by the *Indians*, for having been chosen by him. His Reception at *Tlascala* was most magnificent, with triumphal Arches, dancing and singing in Praise of his Victories, and of the Republick. In short, he enter'd the City in triumphant manner, carrying before him the Ensigns and Standards of his Enemies, the Prisoners and the Booty, attended by his own Forces, and an incredible Multitude of the Citizens and others that came out to meet him, with extraordinary Affection and Admiration. A Speech was made, calling him the Avenger of their Wrongs, and to avoid Tedioufness he had greater Honour paid him than ever was known to have been done to any General in a County where he was not a Native. This Satisfaction was much allay'd by the Death of his great Friend *Maxiscatzin*, taken off by the Small-Pox, which very much griev'd him,

him, and he put on Mourning. The Republick pray'd he would substitute *Maxiscatzin's* Son in his Place, though he was only twelve Years of Age, that Honour being due to him for his Father's great Prudence in governing them. He did so, and Knighted him after the *Spanish* manner, and that he might be a Knight of *JESUS CHRIST*, he caus'd him to be Baptiz'd, by the Name of *Don Lorenzo Maxiscatzin*. When *Martin Lopez* arriv'd at *Tlascala*, he found *Maxiscatzin* very sick, who told him, he had been inform'd by *Cortes*, that there was only one God, who rewarded the good, and punish'd the wicked, and other Points of the Catholick Faith, which had given him Satisfaction, and that because the Christians honour'd the Cross, he had one in his Chamber, which he worshipp'd on his Knees, and burnt Incense before it, to his great Comfort, and therefore since he was like to dye, he would do it like a Christian. *Lopez* immediately sent Advice hereof to *Cortes*, who order'd *F. Olmedo* to haste away to do that good Work. He coming in good Time instructed and baptiz'd him, and he dy'd a Catholick Christian, with much Devotion, God rewarding him, who had been the only Cause of the Christians being preserv'd in that Country, for his greater Glory, and the Salvation of so many Souls.

Cortes hastned the Building of the Brigantines, and sent to *Vera Cruz* for the Iron Work, Sails and Rigging of the Ships he had sunk, though in the Memorials of *Alonso de Mata* it is said, that he made the best shift he could for those Things of what the Country would afford. The Seamen made Pitch on a Mountain near *Tlascala*, a Thing altogether new to the *Indians*, who not standing in need of any had never hit upon it. He endeavour'd to get Intelligence of what was doing at *Mexico*, which could not be by means of the *Tlascallans*, because they were known by their
Lips,

Lips, Ears, and other Tokens ; but by the Prisoners they took he understood, that they had chosen for their King *Cuetlavac*, Brother to *Moteczuma*, Lord of *Tztapalapa*, who had been set at Liberty by *Cortes*, was a crafty turbulent Man, and the chief Instrument in expelling the *Spaniards* out of *Mexico* ; that he was fortifying the City with Ditches, and Trenches, and arming the People with long Pikes ; that he took off the Taxes, and offer'd Rewards to such Towns as should oppose the *Spaniards*; kill them, and send him their Heads ; and that he intimated throughout his Empire, how much it concern'd them to be united, in order to deliver themselves from the Oppression of the Strangers. Thus far they were in the Right, excepting that all those Things were done by *Quauimoc*, Nephew to *Moteczuma*, whom they chose for their King, because *Cuetlavac* soon dy'd of the Small-Pox. *Quauimoc* was extraordinary diligent in making these Preparations, and gain'd many Friends, though some would not enter into Alliance with him, rather on Account of their ancient Enmity, than for fear of the *Spaniards*. He laid up vast Stores of Arms, brought abundance of People into the City, and sent out to the Mountains most of those that were useless. He gather'd Provisions from the Neighbourhood, exercis'd his Troops, rewarded those that did it best, endeavour'd to get Intelligence of his Enemies, and when he heard they were ready to march, he assembled the *Mexican* Nobility, who being all seated, and he standing, he made an Harangue, persuading them to defend their Religion, their Country, their Lives, Honours, Wives, and Children, which confirm'd them all to him, and they promis'd to die in his Service. Many of the Lords in the Country stood Neuters, being sensible of the Power of both Parties ; and others offer'd their Service to *Cortes*, hating the Tyranny of the *Mexicans*, and confiding in the Bravery of the

Tlascalans,

Tlascallans, who being so deeply concern'd in the Success of that Affair, kept Intelligence all about. *Cortes* omitted nothing that could tend to the advancing of his Design, and on the second Day of *Christmas*, some *Spaniards* being then come to him from *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, and even from the *Canaries* and *Spain*, he muster'd them in the Square of the great Temple at *Tlascala*. First march'd the Cross-bow Men, and being come to the middle of the Place in good Order, bent, and shot off their Cross-bows in the Air, and then paying their Respect to *Cortes*, pa's'd on. Next came the Target Men, who drew their Swords, and having flourish'd, did their Honours, and went on. After them came the Pike Men, charg'd their Pikes, and push'd on with them in their close Order; the last were the Musketeers, who giving a graceful Volley, that frighted the *Indians*, advanc'd. The Horsemen came on by two and two, with Spears and Targets, galloped over the Ground, and skirmish'd, with *Cortes* among them, having a short loose Velvet Garment over his Armour, and a Javelin in his Hand, to the great Admiration of the Natives. There were forty Horse, five hundred and forty Foot, and nine small Guns. The Horse he divided into four Squadrons, the Foot into nine Companies, and then made an ingenious Speech to them a Horseback, encouraging, promising good Success, persuading them to revenge the Injury receiv'd from the *Mexicans*, representing the immortal Fame they would gain throughout the World by reducing that great City, signifying the Service it would be to God, that being the only Method for planting of the Faith; advising to make good Use of the Friendship of the *Tlascallans*, that being the Means to carry on their Design, and assuring them, there was no Nation in the World, but what would wish to be in the same Situation as they were, in order to gain endless Renown, and enrich themselves. They all

listened to him attentively, giving Assurances of their Satisfaction in having him for their Commander, the Hopes they conceiv'd of being victorious through his Conduct, and their Affection to follow him. The *Tlascallans* being desirous to follow the Example of the *Spaniards*, desir'd Leave for their Troops to pass in Review in that same Place, and the next Morning they accordingly did it in the Presence of *Cortes*, and all the *Spaniards*, in the following Order.

FIRST came a set of Musicians sounding Horns, Cornets, Shells, hollow Bones, and other Instruments, follow'd by the Lords of the four Quarters of the Republick, with Targets, wooden Swords, curious Plumes of Feathers at their Backs, rising at least a Yard above their Heads, and Stones of great Value sticking in the Holes of their Lips and Ears, their Hair ty'd back with a Brace of Gold or Silver, and rich Shoes on their Feet, and after them four Pages with their Bows and Arrows. Then four Standards, with the Arms of the Republick, curiously wrought in Feather-work, carry'd by four Standard-Bearers, and next, by twenty in a Rank, pass'd sixty thousand Archers, with Colours at certain Distances, of the Arms of each Captain of the Company. All the Standards and Colours saluted *Cortes*, and he stood up, and took off his Cap, all the Men bowing their Heads, and discharging their Arrows in the Air. Next appear'd about forty thousand Target Men, and lastly ten thousand Pike Men. These were the Men that pass'd in Review, though *Ojeda* in his Memorials says, they amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand. When the Muster was over, which lasted three Hours, *Xicotencatl*, who was General, from an high Place said, " They should observe, " that they were to march the next Day, with the " invincible *Cortes*, and his Companions, to make " War upon the *Culhuans* their mortal Enemies, and it " was enough for them to remember, that they were

" *Tlascallans*,

“ *Tlascallans*, a Name terrible to all Nations, and some
 “ other Expressions to encourage them, and so they
 “ were dismiss’d.” *Cortés* to keep his Men in Order
 and Discipline ordain’d, “ That none should blas-
 “ pheme the Holy Name of God, his Mother, or any
 “ Saint ; that no Soldier should quarrel with another,
 “ nor draw his Sword, or lay hold of any other
 “ Weapon ; that none should game away his Horse,
 “ Arms, or Furniture ; that none should ravish any
 “ Woman, upon Pain of Death ; that none should
 “ take any Cloathing from another, nor chastize any
 “ *Indian* that was not his Slave ; that none should go
 “ out a marauding without Leave ; that none should
 “ seize any *Indian*, or plunder Houses without Leave ;
 “ that none should insult the Confederate *Indians*, but
 “ treat them in most loving manner, laying severe Pe-
 “ nalties on the Transgressors.” He set Rates on Iron
 Works and Cloaths, because they were at excessive
 Prices, and for as much as Laws will avail little, un-
 less strictly put in Execution, he caus’d one to be
 whipp’d for taking a Garment from an *Indian*, hang’d
 two Blacks of his own for stealing a Hen, and two
 Mantles from another ; disgrac’d a Soldier, because
 some *Indians* complain’d, that he had tore up a Tree,
 and hang’d another, for forcing an Hen from an *Indi-
 an*, but pardon’d him at the Request of the Com-
 manders when the Ladder was taken away and he half
 dead, and in such a Condition that he did reco-
 yer, but could scarce swallow in a Month ; by which
 means his Ordinances came to be observ’d, and he was
 punctually obey’d.

WHEN all the Forces of *Tlascala*, *Chulula*, and
Guaxocingo were in Readiness, *Cortés* spoke to the *Tlaf-
 callans*, and told them, “ That since they had engag’d
 “ their Faith to assist him in this Enterprize, against
 “ the common Enemy, he expected they should do
 “ their Duty, as they had always done, to the In-

“ create of the Honour of that renowned Republick ;
 “ and since the City of *Mexico* being seated in the
 “ Water, could not be taken without the Brigantines
 “ that were Building, they should be assisting to fi-
 “ nish, as they had been to begin them, and leave it
 “ to him to assert their Liberty, and enlarge the Do-
 “ minion of their Common-wealth, for that he was
 “ resolv’d never to return from *Mexico* till it was sub-
 “ du’d, and all the Wrongs done there sufficiently
 “ aveng’d; and that if any of them were going against
 “ their Will to that War, he desir’d them to stay be-
 “ hind, and he would proceed with such as were wil-
 “ ling to follow him.” The great Men answer’d in
 few Words, “ They would rather perish in the Lake
 “ than return Home without Victory ; and that as
 “ for the Brigantines, and the good Usage of those
 “ that stay’d behind to finish them, he need take no
 “ Care, for it should be done better than if he were
 “ present himself, returning him many Thanks for
 “ his Affection towards them.” All the whole Peo-
 ple made a Sign with their Hands and Heads, that they
 would fulfil all that the Regency promis’d. *Cortes* ta-
 king Leave of the Regency on *Holy Innocents-Day*, set
 out from *Tlascala*, with Drums beating, Fifes playing,
 and Colours flying in very good Order, a prodigious
 Multitude looking on, he having first heard Mass, and
 all the *Spaniards* offer’d up their Prayers to God, and
 invoc’d the Holy Ghost. It was worth observing to
 hear the Blessings of the People, some crying, see how
 the brave ones go to crush the Pride of the *Mexicans* ;
 others said, God grant you Victory ; others, may you
 return in Safety ; and others shedding Tears cry’d,
 may our Eyes see you return alive, especially the Wo-
 men. The *Tlascallans* being us’d to Fight with the
Mexicans, march’d out cheerfully, in their gay Habit,
 in good Order, under four Generals, their Martial
 Musick making much Noise. They amounted to a-
 bout

bout eighty thousand, it being thought fit that the rest should stay behind till the Brigantines were carry'd. *Alonso de Ojeda* and *John Marquez* march'd with the *Indians*, because they understood them. They march'd six Leagues that Day, and lay at Night at a Town call'd *Tezmeluca*, signifying the Place of Oaks, and the Lords of *Guaxocingo*, within whose Territories the same is, entertain'd all the Army generously. Then they ascended a steep Pass on the Mountain, which was three Leagues to the Top, being the Boundary with the Lands of *Tezcuco*, where the Cold was so violent, that had they not help it by making great Fires, many must have perish'd. Holding on their Way, the advanc'd Parties came into a very thick Wood of Pine-trees, many of them neatly cut down and laid a-crofs. *Cortes* went before with one thousand *Indians*, who with Axes hew'd, and clear'd another Way, which was discreetly done, because the *Culmans* supposing he would have taken the former, had secur'd it with Ditches and Trenches, defended by sharp pointed Palisades, and abundance of Men, that would have given some Trouble, though the Small-Pox, which then spread farther, disabled abundance of People. The Confederate *Indians* observing, that the said Distemper did not touch the *Spaniards*, much admiring it, concluded, that some Deity preserv'd and protected them.



C H A P. VI.

The Religion, Rites, Customs, Government, and other Particulars of the Province of Tepeaca; the Discovery of the Country of Chicora, and Cape St. Helen, and some other Particulars.

BEFORE we proceed on the Conquest of *Mexico*, which was in the ensuing Year 1521, it will be proper to mention some other Particulars that belong to the Year we have been speaking of 1520, and in the first Place to give some Account of the Province of *Tepeaca*, which, as has been said above, was then subdu'd. The *Tepeacans*, according to their Reckoning, came thither about three hundred and thirty-two Years before the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, from *Chicomoztoc*, signifying the seven Caves, a Town fifty Leagues from *Mexico* to the Northward, under the Command of a brave General call'd *Quauiztitzac*, that is white Eagle, and finding that Land which was then waste, and had no known Lord, founded the City of *Tepeaca*, so call'd by them, on a Spot of Land, at the Top of the Ridge of an Hill, where it expires with a round Turn, and *Tepeyacac* signifies, the Extremity, or Top of a Ridge, which is in the direct Road to the City of *Tlascala*, in whose Diocese it now is, but not in its former Situation; for about fifty-five Years since, the *Spaniards* built it in the plain Bottom, by the Consent of the Lords and Inhabitants, this Situation being more commodious, where it now stands, the Buildings being good, and the Streets regular, tho' some of the Inhabitants remain'd
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in the former Place, being unwilling to leave that ancient Dwelling. This Province was govern'd by *Quarcisthtac's* Successors, till the Days of *Chichtuc*, or *Boharro*, whose three Sons, having divided the Sovereignty between them, held the same, at the Time when *Cortes* conquer'd it, without owning the King of *Mexico* any otherways, than as a Friend and Confederate in the Wars against *Tlascala*, and *Gnaxocingo*, two neighbouring Cities. The present Situation is in eighteen Degrees forty Minutes, the Temper of it such, that at all Times of the Year, the Sun makes Summer, and the Shade Winter; though it is call'd a cold Country, and is dry, because founded on Chalk, without any River or Spring whatsoever, and therefore they drink Rain Water gather'd in Ponds, tho' at about half a League distance there are some Springs of harsh Water, like that of *Almagro* in *Castile*, rising among Flints. The Rains begin at the same Time as they do throughout *New Spain*, that is, in *April*, and give over in *September*, and during the other Months there is much Cold, and the Sun is not so scorching. During that Time the North and East Winds prevail, and in the rainy Season the South so violent that it is troublesome. *Tecamachalco*, *Tecalco* and *Chaculac* belong to this Province, though they are Capital Places. *Tecamachalco* is seated on the side of a Hill, which borders on another; that divides it from a small Break, and runs above four hundred Leagues, as far as *Nicaragua*, and some are of Opinion, that it is answer'd beyond *Panama*, and from thence the Ridge of Mountains of *Peru*, which stretches along to the Provinces of the River of *Plate*, takes its first Rise. There being great Want of Water in this Province in the Time of their Gentility, the *Spaniards* conducted a great Glut of it, which came down from the Mountains of *Tlascala* into certain Meadows, in Pipes to a Fountain with eight Cocks, they made in the Market Place of
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the City, by which it is serv'd, that Water being thin, and well tasted, and though all the Province wants Rivers, and running Waters, it has much good grazing Ground, for it extends twenty Leagues in Breadth in some Places plain, and in others mountainous.

THESE People are almost alike in their Understanding, Inclinations, and Manner of living, only the Gentry have a better Capacity, speak more courteously, and differ in their Habit. The general Language is the *Mexican*, but in the Towns subject to them they have another that is common, call'd *Popolucan*. Some of them also speak the Language of the *Otomies*, which they look upon as most natural. *Bobarro's* three Sons above-mention'd, divided the Territories of *Tepeaca* into Triangles, that each of them might defend his own part against the Borderers, and so they continu'd till the coming of the *Spaniards*. The Religion and Rites of these People were much the same with those of the rest of the Country; but in this City particularly they had an Idol in the Shape of a Man, call'd *Camaztleque*, which signifies, the God without Breeches. They ador'd him with profound Respect, and when they had Victory in any War, return'd Thanks to him, and sacrific'd many Men. They worship'd other Idols, as likewise the Sun, Moon and Stars, for they still suppos'd there was some supreme God, Creator of all Things; and believ'd, that the Thunder and Lightning were living Creatures, that came down from Heaven, and when a Flash of Lightning kill'd any Man, they said the Gods were angry; and the Gentry were very careful in instructing their Sons in warlike Affairs, and other commendable Customs. Four Judges were appointed to sit in a Hall to decide all Controversies, who had their Employments for Life, and when one dy'd the Lord nam'd another, being always taken from among the People of Quality. In
trying

trying of Causes they heard both Sides, and examin'd Witneses as to the Fact, all by Word of Mouth, because they had no Writing, but their Pictures. Witneses were confronted with Offenders; if the Crimes were small, they gave Judgment immediately; if heinous, they advis'd with the Lord, and pass'd Sentence, which was Death for Adulterers, Forgers, Thieves and Lyars. Whosoever stole any Thing in the Palace was immediately hang'd without Remission. They had proper Officers to take Prisoners, and see Executions perform'd. Their Prisons were like wooden Cages, with Keepers. The People of Quality were honour'd and respected. They had neither Weights, nor Measures, but exchange'd one Thing for another. The Wars they wag'd with *Tlascala*, *Chulula*, *Gnaxocingo*, and *Calpan* were not for Interest, but for Honour, and to gain the Reputation of being Warriors, and accordingly they began them without any Provocation. They had Captains that led their Companies from their several Quarters, their martial Musick being Hunter's Cornets, and their Armour Skins of Tygers, Deer, and other wild Creatures, and generally Jackets stuff'd with Cotton, which they call'd *Escaupiles*; but the boldest of them went naked, painted Black and Red, with Clouts, their Bows and Arrows in their Hands, and *Macanas*, like Clubs, a Yard in Length, and the greatest Booty they aim'd at in War, was taking of Prisoners.

THE principal Distempers among them, were occasion'd by much Choler, or Flegm, and other ill Humours, proceeding from their bad Food, and want of warm Cloathing, being all of Cotton both for Men and Women, and their Cures were the Roots of several sorts of Herbs, given them by their Botanists, which purg'd upward and downward. After their Physick they us'd to eat a Mess of Pap, or hasty Pudding made of the Flower of their Wheat, some

Cakes of Bread, and Chile, which is the Pepper of the Country, and being thus ill treated, many of them dy'd. They likewise us'd Bleeding, pricking themselves with large Bones of Tygers, or Lyons, which they look'd upon as Medicinal, drawing Blood from the Part where the Pain, was especially from the Belly, and the Pit of the Stomach. There were seven or eight several Roots of Herbs, Flowers and Trees, which they most generally us'd in their Cures, and because they were bitter they toasted them, the strength of the Fire taking off much of the Bitterness, and then they took the usual Quantity, reduc'd to Powder mix'd with Cacao, of which they make their Liquor. They had many other Herbs, Roots and Flowers they made use of, which was usual throughout all *New Spain*. In the Territory of *Tecamachalco*, and *Cachulac*, near a Village call'd *Aljoxucan*, on the Top of an Hill is a Lake, from the Top whereof to the Surface of the Water there are one hundred and fifty Fathoms in Depth, and the Natives go down one Side of it along a little Path to fetch Water, as does the Cattle to drink. No Fish breeds in it, nor any other Creature. It neither swells with the Winter Rain, nor shrinks with the Summer Drought. No Bottom has been found to it, and it is thought that a River runs underneath it, which gushes out ten Leagues farther in the low Land, and is call'd *Aolizapan*. The Water is very cold, and of a blewish Colour, and that of the River being exactly like it, occasions the said Opinion. In the same Territory, at about three Leagues distance, is another Lake in a Plain, and is call'd *Tlachac*, there being a Way to go quite round it, and Horses may drink at it. The Compass of it is a League, and the Depth such that no Bottom has been yet found. It breeds a sort of little white Fishes no bigger than a Man's Finger, but very well tasted. A League from thence is another Lake, call'd *Atchichican*.

Alchichican, which signifies, bitter Water, lying in a Plain, two Leagues in Compass, the Cattle drink of it, and grow fat, no Bottom has been found to it, the Water is very clear, has no Fish, or other living Creature, swells and carries great Waves like the Sea in windy Weather, neither rises nor falls as was said of the first, and about it there are large Plains extending twelve Leagues, with thick Woods, and Pasture for Sheep.

THE great Number of Woods and Forests produces extraordinary Variety of Trees, as Pines, and Oaks of two sorts, Cedars, Sabines, Cypresses, Willows, Poplars, Elders, &c. The Timber is put to several Uses, and the Heart of the Pine cut out, and sold in the Markets to light the Natives in their Houses. They likewise extract good Turpentine from the said Pine-trees, most of which bear Pine Apples, with Kernels in them, the Quantity whereof is very great every fourth Year, but smaller the other intermediate Years. The Oaks produce small bitter Acorns, which are eaten by the Cattle. As to Fruits, they have Hart Cherry-trees, like ours in *Spain*, saving that the Stalk is so short, that it cleaves close to the Bough. The *Tuna* is a wholesome agreeable Fruit, of which there are several sorts, as White, Yellow, Purple, and Red, and on this the *Cochinilla* Worms breeds. The *Magney* is a very beneficial Tree, which has been already, and shall be spoken of again. The Apple-trees produce little yellow Apples, whereof they make a Conserve with the Honey of the Country. There have been carry'd over to and thrive well at *Tepeaca*, Pear, Quince, and Peach-trees, and the Pears hang on the Trees till *Christmas*. Figs have answer'd well at *Tecamachalco*, and they dry considerable Quantities of them. Walnut and Apricot-trees do well at *Acazingo*. Grapes thrive, and there are abundance of *Spanish* Roses.

116 The HISTORY of *America*.

THE People of this Province feed on *Mayx* or *Indian* Wheat, as we call it, and Kidney-Beans, Axi, Blites, Purslane, which is natural there, Pompions and Mushrooms, all which they dress after several Manners, and make hasty Pudding of the Flower of their Wheat. They now also eat Cabbages, Lettuces, Radishes, Onions, Garlick, and all other sorts of *Spanish* Greens, which they bring up in their Gardens, and sell. Corn answers very well, and there is in this Province a Valley, call'd of *St. Paul*, and in it about sixty *Spanish* Countrymen, who sow two hundred or four hundred Bushels a Year, which produces generally eighty thousand Bushels of good and weighty Wheat. Barley, Beans, *Spanish* Peas, Silk, and Flax are plentiful, and there is Scarlet of the Oak. There is Plenty of Sheep, Goats, Swine, and Fowls both of the *Spanish* and the Native sorts, and there are Breeds of Horses for Carriers Teams and Carts. On the Mountains of this Province, and especially those that are always cover'd with Snow, there are wild Beasts, as Tygers, Leopards, Wolves, in *New Spain* call'd *Adibes*, Stags, Roebucks, Fallow Deer in great Numbers, and Herds of wild Boars; very large Eagles, Sakers, Gos-hawks, Gersfalcons, and Sparrow-hawks. There is a sort of Birds about the Bigness of a Butterfly, with a long Beak, and Feathers of most delicate Colours, much valu'd for curious Works, they feed on Flowers, and the Dew that lies on them, like Bees, and when the Rains cease, and the dry Season comes on, they cling to the Trees by their Beaks, and so die, and the next Year revive again when it Rains. There are also Sparrows, which being put into Cages sing well. They have many other sorts of Birds that sing, and others that do not; and a League from *Tepeaca* there is a very good Quarry of Marble and Jasper Stone, which is much valu'd. They have neither Salt, nor Cotton, which must be brought them from
other

other Provinces, and that was the main Cause why the Natives were in Amity with the *Mexicans* against *Tlascala*, where those Things were not to be had. Their Houses were generally small and low, without any upper Floors, made of some sort of Cement, like mud Walls, thatch'd; but since, the People of Substance have follow'd the Example of the *Spaniards*, and Built with Lime and Stone, and substantial Timber. In this Province there are five Monasteries of *Franciscans*, who administer the Sacraments, and instruct the *Indians*. Three of them were founded by F. *John de Ribas*, one of the first religious Men that went over into *New Spain*. In each of the five Towns of this Liberty there is an Hospital, for the Cure of the poor Natives; they are not endow'd, but the Alms given to them are very plentiful, and these were likewise founded by the *Franciscan* Friers.

BEFORE we conclude this Decad, and the Year 1720, it is fit to take Notice, that the Licenciado *Roderick de Figueroa*, who had been employ'd by the King, to enquire what *Indians* were *Canibals*, or Man eaters, and which were not so; after diligent Search made into that Affair, gave his Opinion as follows. He said all the *Indians* of the Islands not inhabited by *Spaniards* were *Canibals*, except those of the *Trinity*, the *Lucayos*, *Barbudas*, *Giants* and *Marmagita*; all the rest he declar'd to be barbarous People, Enemies to Christians, and Man eaters. On the Continent as far as had been till then discover'd, he affirm'd, that in the upper Part of the Coast towards the Island of Pearls there was a Province call'd *Paracuria*, the Inhabitants whereof were *Guatiaos*, who are not *Canibals*; then proceeding down along that Coast towards the Gulph of *Paria*, there was another Province extending to that of *Arucaca*, held to be *Canibals*, the next to it onward to be *Guatiaos*, worthy to be well us'd; those of the Province of *Uripari* to be *Canibals*; and farther

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118 The HISTORY of America.

on along the same Coast the *Urinacos* to be *Guatiao*s; the *Indians* on the Coast of *Taurapac*, *Canibals*; as also those farther on call'd *Olleros*, and those of the Provinces of *Maracapan*a and *Cariaco*, except those of *Pavona*, and so onwards in the Province of *Cariati*, and *Cumana* and *Chiribichi*, as far as the River *Urari*, all whom he declar'd *Guatiao*s, and the like from *Urari* down the Coast, and those of *Cogñibocóa*, except the *Unatos*, of whom he could not decide; but the Inland *Indians* to all these Parts he declar'd to be *Canibals*. Hereupon he ordain'd, that all those he had declar'd *Canibals* might be infested, taken, and sold for Slaves, but that none should presume to offend the others that he had clear'd from being *Canibals*.

THE Number of the *Indians* in the Islands very much declining, and Licences being granted for taking and making Slaves of the *Canibals*, several Ships were fitted out against them, and among others the Licentiate *Luke Vasquez de Ayllon*, join'd in Partnership with some of the Inhabitants of *Santo Domingo*. They fitted out two Ships in *Hispaniola*, at *Puerto de Plata*, and some say that by Force of a Storm, others that having found no *Indians* where they went, rather than return empty, they sail'd away to the Northward, having had some Information of *John Ponce de Leon's* Voyage. They fell in upon a Country call'd *Chicora* and *Gualdape*, lying in thirty-two Degrees Latitude, now call'd Cape St. *Helen*, and the River *Jordan*, so call'd, because the Name of one of the Captains, or Masters of those Ships was *Jordan*, and it was the Custom of Discoverers to give their Names to Rivers, or other Places, or those of Saints, or such others as they thought fit. As soon as the Ships appear'd, being so great a Novelty, the *Indians* believing them to be some monstrous Fishes; but seeing Men with Beards, and cloath'd, they fled, the *Spaniards* pursuing took a Man and a Woman, clad them after the *Spanish* Fashion, gave

gave them to eat, and Wine to drink, and then dismiss'd them. The King of the Country, seeing that strange Habit, was amaz'd, and sent fifty *Indians* with Provision, to the Ships. Some *Spaniards* repair'd to him, he appointed them Guides to view the Country; where-soever they went the People gave them Meat, and some small Presents of Gold, Seed Pearl, and small Things of Silver. When they had observ'd the Manner of the People, and what else was to be seen, and water'd, they invited many *Indians* to see the Ships, who going aboard innocently, the *Spaniards* hoisted Sail, and carry'd them away. It pleas'd God, that in their Return, one of the Ships was cast away, and most of the *Indians* aboard the other dy'd for Grief, or Hunger, refusing to eat; but when the Survivers came to *Hispaniola* they would eat Dogs, Asses, or other Carrion. This Action being so very foul, it was thought the same would have been severely punish'd; but some say it was not done in *Hispaniola* through Favour, and nothing of it was known at Court. The Licentiate *Luke Vasquez* went away afterwards to *Spain*, upon other Business, and carry'd an Account of this Discovery, designing to beg that Country for himself. He took along with him one of those *Indians*, as a Servant, he having learnt to speak *Spanish*, and was called *Francis de Chicora*, and told very notable Things of his Country.

THE *Indians* of this Province are of a Dun Colour, inclining to yellow, as many others of those Parts, their Bodies well shap'd, almost beardless, their Hair black hanging down to their Wastes, the Women's longer, and all in Tresses. The King, call'd *Dasa*, was a Giant, his Wife and twenty-five Children he had monstrous, and being ask'd, how they came to grow so large, they said, they gave them to eat Puddings stuff'd with certain enchanted Herbs. Others said, that they stretch'd out their Bones when Infants, and

and after they had been softened with certain Herbs boil'd, they stretch'd them again, and this is the Account some *Chicomans* who were baptiz'd gave. Their Priests were clad after a different Manner from the rest, and without Hair, except some Locks on the Temples. They us'd to chew a certain Herb, and sprinkled the Soldiers with the Juice of it, when they were to fight, which was look'd upon as a Blessing; they cur'd the wounded, bury'd the Dead, did eat no Flesh. They had no Physicians but old Women, who perform'd their Cures with Herbs, and knew many for several Distempers. They vomited up Choler, and all they had in them, by the Help of an Herb they call *Gabi*, very common and wholesome, for by Means of it they liv'd long and in good Health. The Priests were notable Wizards, deluded the People, had two little Idols, which they show'd in publick only twice a Year. Once with extraordinary Pomp, at the sowing Season, the King going in Procession before the Idols, and they were shown to the People, being Male and Female, the Night of the Eve, and the Morning of the Festival. They ador'd them on their Knees, and cry'd out for Mercy. The King, who show'd them, came down from the High Place, and deliver'd them, cover'd with rich Mantles, to two Gentlemen, who carry'd them to the Field where the Procession was, and all Persons whatsoever attended it, any that did not was look'd upon as irreligious; being all dress'd the best they were able; some smoothed their Bodies, others cloath'd themselves with Leaves and Herbs, and others with Skins, dancing and singing, and some wore leathern Masks. The Men had their Festival in the Day, and the Women at Night. Besides singing, they pray'd, made Offerings, burnt Sweets, and the next Day they carry'd back the Idols to their Temple, and thus they thought they should have a good Harvest.

The HISTORY of *America*. 121

ON another Festival, they carry'd a wooden Statue into the Fields, with the same Solemnity as before, fix'd a large Piece of Timber into the Ground upright, on which they plac'd it, and then enclos'd it with Stakes, Chests, and little Stools. The marry'd Men drew near to offer, and laid it on the Chests and Stools; the Priests look'd upon the Offering, declar'd who had offer'd most, and he was honour'd all the Year after, which made many vie in Offering. The prime Men did eat of the Fruit and Provisions so offer'd, and the rest was divided between them and the Priests. As soon as it was Night, they took down the Statue, which they threw into the River, or the Sea, that it might go among the Gods of the Water, in Honour of whom the Festival was observ'd. The next Day they dug up the Bones of a King, or Priest, whom they had held in great Veneration, carry'd them up to a Scaffold in the Field, the Women lamented, went round, and offer'd what they could. The next Day the Bones were restor'd to the Grave, a Priest made a Speech, in Honour of the Person whose they had been; argu'd concerning the Immortality of the Soul; treated about Hell, or the Place of Punishment the Gods had in very cold Places, where the Wicked were purg'd; discours'd about Heaven, or Paradise, which he said was in a very temperate Country, and in the Possession of *Quxuga*, a most mighty Lord, meek and lame, who made very much of the Souls that went to his Kingdom, where they sung, danc'd, and sported with their beloved Women; and thus those Bones were canoniz'd, and the Preacher dismiss'd his Audience, smocking their Noses with burnt Herbs and Gums, and blowing upon them like a Charmer. They believ'd that abundance of People liv'd in Heaven, and under the Earth, and that there were Gods in the Sea, of all which the Priests had Ballads. When their Kings dy'd, they made Fires that flew like Squibs, and

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inculcated that they were Souls just departed the Body, that went to Heaven. They bury'd them with much Lamentation. They honour'd their Caziques, laying their Hands on their Noses, whistling, and passing them along the Forehead to the Nape of the Neck. The King or Cazique turn'd his Head towards his left Shoulder, when he would do Honour to the Person that complimented him. A Widow whose Husband dy'd a natural Death could not marry again; if he were executed she might. Leud Women were not permitted to come among Wives. They play'd at Ball, and shot at Marks with their Bows very dextrously. They had Silver, Seed Pearl, and some Stones of Value, but very little of any of them. There are Abundance of Stags, which they breed tame, and graze in the Fields, with Stagherds to look to them, at Night they return to their Dens, and Cheese is made of their Milk.

The End of the Eighth Book.





THE
General HISTORY
Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of
A M E R I C A, &c.

D E C A D. II. B O O K IX.

C H A P. I.

*The Spaniards rout two Armies of the
Mexicans; Cortes makes Don Ferdinan-
do Lord of Tezcuco; one Villafana con-
spires against him; several Towns sub-
mit; the Brigantines carry'd to Tez-
cuco.*



W E left Cortes advancing towards Mexico
after coming down from the difficult Pas-
ses on the Mountains, where the Army
had a Prospect of the great City of
Mexico, the Lake, and all the adjacent Country.
Being come into the Plain, Cortes design'd to em-
ploy

ploy his Time in reducing the Towns about *Mexico*, till such Time as his Brigantines could be finish'd and brought him from *Tlascala*. The *Mexicans* discover'd the *Spanish* Army from the Tops of the Hills, and firing their Beacons to give the Alarm, one hundred thousand Men drew together, and posted themselves in the way where the *Spaniards* were of necessity to pass. The third day of the Year 1521. *Cortes* discover'd, and charg'd them with twenty Horse, who being immediately back'd by the whole Army, put them to the Rout, with a great Slaughter. The *Spaniards* rejoycing at this Victory, took up their Quarters that Night in a Town belonging to the Lord of *Tezcuc*, which they found abandon'd, where they lay upon their Guard, being inform'd that another great Army of *Mexicans* was at Hand. The next Day they march'd from thence towards *Tezcuc*, which is three Leagues distant, through a plain Country well inhabited, having very good Structures, for the Dominion, and City of *Tezcuc* was not inferior to that of *Mexico*. Four *Indians* very well dress'd came out with a Rod, and on it a Flag of Gold, which being a Signal of Peace, *Cortes* order'd the Troops to halt. When they had made their Obedience, they told him, that *Cuanacuzint* their Lord was at his Service, and pray'd he would do no harm in the Country, but to take up his Quarters in the City, which he might do with all safety. *Cortes* was well pleas'd with this Message, though he look'd upon it as insincere, and answer'd, returning thanks for that Kindness, that since no Satisfaction could be made for forty-five Men, and five Horses, and above three hundred *Tlascallans* they had kill'd, they should at least restore the Gold, Silver, and Jewels that had been taken from those People in their Country, and in Case of refusal threaten'd that he would destroy a thousand of them for every *Spaniard*. They reply'd, that

that what he urg'd had been done by order of the Lord of *Mexico*, and that the *Mexicans* carry'd off the Booty, but that they would use their Endeavours to seek out and restore it. The Army was well receiv'd in all those Towns, and proceeded to *Guaxuta*, half a League from *Tezcucó*, enter'd the City, and was quarter'd in a large House that had belong'd to the Lord of *Tezcucó*'s Father, which held all the *Spaniards*, and many of the Confederate *Indians*; but no Women, or Children appearing, *Cortes* order'd that no Man should go out of the Quarters, lest they should run into any danger, and that the People of the Town might be the more secure. It was discover'd from the Tops of the Houses, that the Inhabitants were abandoning the City, carrying away their Goods, their Wives and Children in Canoes, and by Land to the Mountains, and this in a great hurry. *Cortes* being inform'd of it, sent for some of the Prime Men, and told them, that *Don Ferdinand*, whom he brought with him was the Son of *Neszával Pilcintle* their great Lord, whom he appointed for their Sovereign, since *Cuanazucint* was gone over to the Enemy, and had treacherously murder'd his Brother through Ambition of Rule; and accordingly *Don Ferdinand* was receiv'd as King, whereupon those that were fled to the Mountains return'd, the City was fill'd again, and the Inhabitants were well us'd.

THREE Days after the Lords of *Guatinchan*, *Guaxuta* and *Astengo* came lamenting, and making many Excuses, for having absented themselves; they begg'd Pardon, and to be admitted into Favour, for if they had ever sought it had been by Compulsion. *Cortes* granted their request, upon Condition they should be doubly punished if they proved false. The *Mexicans* were much concern'd at this, and sent Messengers to redress it, but these three Lords gave notice of it to *Cortes*, sending the Messengers to him; who deny'd their

their coming on that Errand, and said, they came to desire those Lords to mediate a Peace between the *Mexicans* and the *Christians*. Though *Cortes* was sensible of their Subtilty, he order'd them to be unbound, gave them some Baubles, and bid them advise those from whom they came, since those were dead that had been guilty of the Offence, to be his Friends. They promis'd to do so, and to bring back an Answer, but were never seen after.

WHILST these Things were in Agitation, as it is impossible for Commanders always to please Men, some Malecontents endeavour'd, by means of *Antony de Villafana*, to mutiny against *Cortes*, and set up in his Place one *Francis Verdugo*, a Man of Authority and Valour, and Brother in Law to *James Velasquez*, for whom they still retain'd an Affection. The Conspirators were near three hundred, all resolv'd to compel *Verdugo* to accept of the Command, he knowing nothing of the Design. As they were waiting an opportunity to stab *Cortes*, one of the Conspirators went to him, and with Horror in his Face, and stammering said, that if he would grant him his Life, and keep the Secret, he would disclose to him an Affair, that concern'd him very much. *Cortes* readily granted his Request, and the Discoverer said, it is requisite immediately to secure *Antony de Villafana* who was the manager of the Intrigue. *Cortes* order'd *Gonzalo de Sandoval* to seize him, and to take from him a Paper it was suppos'd he had in his Bosom, containing the Names of the Conspirators; which tho' he endeavour'd to do immediately, *Villafana* had got half the Paper into his Mouth, but they held his Throat, and forc'd him to put out a part of it, on which were the Names of fourteen Persons of Note. As for himself he presently confess'd the Crime, but notwithstanding his being much rack'd held out resolutely, without naming any Man
what-

whatsoever; and as for those Names, he said he had writ them down to speak to, and draw in those Persons, but had not as yet said any thing to them. *Cortes* was not sorry, that punishing one the rest might be reconcil'd, and accordingly he hang'd *Villafana*. The next Day the *Spaniards* being assembled, he told them, that *Villafana* had done like a Christian, in not accusing those that were set down in the Paper, and that Part of it which he had eaten, since they were innocent; that he desir'd them, if any one had Cause of Complaint, that he would declare it, and he would make him Satisfaction; and that if he err'd in any Thing, they should let him know it, which would be very agreeable to him. He added many more loving Expressions, which reconcil'd and pacify'd them, being joyful that they had not been discover'd, However after that, *Cortes* took more Care of himself.

EIGHT Days *Cortes* stay'd in *Tezcuc* without going abroad, were spent in fortifying his Quarters, and laying up Provisions, for fear of being attack'd there by the Enemy; but finding they did not stir, he march'd out of the City two hundred Foot, eighteen Horsemen, and four thousand *Tlascallans*. He went along the Bank of the Lake to the City of *Xztapalapa*, containing ten thousand Inhabitants, above the one half of it being then founded within the Lake, the Lord whereof was *Moteczuma's* Brother, and the same that drove the *Spaniards* out of *Mexico*. He could not march with so much Secresy, but that the Inhabitants had notice of it, and began to remove their Goods, Wives, and Children to the Houses that were in the Water. Two Leagues short of the City he met some Troops, which fighting and retiring, led him to it, and others in Canoes did the like, and when he was near, all the Multitude rush'd out upon him; the Action lasted three Hours very obstinate, till at length the

128 *The HISTORY of America.*

the *Tztapalaps* being no longer able to withstand, retir'd to the Water, where many were drowned, and others escap'd in Canoes. Five thousand of them were kill'd, and on the other Side only a few *Tlascallans*, and not one *Spaniard*. The Booty was considerable, and the confederate *Indians* fir'd some Houses. A little before the gaining of the Victory, the Enemy broke down a Causeway, by which Means the Water ran out of the salt Lake into the fresh, and whilst the Christians were intent upon the Pursuit, the Water swell'd insensibly, but *Cortes* observing it with his wonderful Sagacity, which took Notice of and weigh'd every Thing, without being overseen in any Point, us'd the utmost Diligence in drawing out the Men, and with all his Care it was seven of the Clock at Night, and in some Places the Water was up to their Knees, and in others to their Breasts. The Booty was lost, as were some *Tlascallans*, and had they stay'd three Hours longer, not a Man had escap'd. They got clear by Nine, had a cold Night of it, and without any Supper. The next Day the *Mexicans* charg'd them, and they retir'd, fighting all the Way to *Tezcucó*. Some Confederate *Indians* were kill'd, and one *Spaniard*, who was the first that had dy'd fighting in the Field; but they carry'd him to *Tezcucó*, that the *Indians* might not see him. The next Day Messengers came from the City of *Orumba*, and from other neighbouring Cities, begging Pardon for the Harm they had done during the War, and praying *Cortes* to admit them to his Friendship. He granted it, upon Condition that they should deliver up into his Hands all the *Culmans* they could meet with.

FINDING that the Garrisons of *Culma* had secur'd all the Passes to *Vera Cruz* and *Tlascala*, *Cortes* sent *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with two hundred *Spanish* Foot, and twenty Horse, with Orders that when he had left the Messengers he had sent to hasten the Brigantines, he should

should return to the Province of *Chalco*, which borders on that of *Cuyoacan*, because those People had sent him word, that they durst not declare themselves his Friends, for fear of the *Culnas*, and *Sandoval* was to secure them. As they were on their March, some *Tlascallans*, who were returning Home with their Booty, and others who had carry'd Provisions, thinking themselves safe because they were behind the *Spaniards*, fell into an Ambush of *Mexicans*, who kill'd some of them, and took away their Booty; but the Cries, for those of the *Indians* are louder than any other Nation, being heard, and the Dust seen, *Sandoval* made thither with his Horse, fell upon the *Mexicans*, reliev'd his Friends, recover'd the Booty, and the Foot then coming in they quite vanquish'd the Enemy, who fled into the Lake. The *Tlascallans* then loaded with their own, and what they had taken from others, as also the Arms of their Enemies, return'd into their Country well pleas'd. Having left them in Safety, *Sandoval* proceeding towards *Chalco*, met in a Plain with twelve thousand *Mexicans*, who gave him Battle in very good Order, which lasted about two Hours, after which they were routed. The News of the Victory being carry'd to *Chalco*, those People came out to meet *Sandoval*, who then return'd to *Cortes* with the Sons of those great Men, that desir'd to be acquainted with him. They carry'd a Present of Gold, *Cortes* made very much of them, and sent *Sandoval* to conduct them back in Safety. He did so, and then going to *Tlascala* return'd again to *Cortes* at the End of six Days, with the *Spaniards* that were there, and *Don Ferdinand*, Lord of *Tezcuco*, who being look'd upon as a well meaning Man, was own'd by those People as their Sovereign, with much Satisfaction. Two Days after, all the *Spaniards* being in that City, and *Cortes's* Reputation increasing, the Lords of *Guatinchan* and *Guaaxuta* went to him in a great Consternation, and

said, that all the Power of *Culua* was coming to fall upon them, bidding him look to himself, and to tell them, whether they should bring their Wives and Children to that City, or convey them into the Mountains. He bid them to fear nothing; but to put the defenceless People into the strongest Houses, and those that could bear Arms to be in a Readiness, for he would assist them, and they should see the Havock he would make among the *Mexicans*. *Cortes* stood upon his Guard, but the Enemy at that Time neither attack'd those Lords nor him, but made it their Business to take up some *Indians* that carry'd Provisions to the Camp, especially the *Tlascallans*, in order to sacrifice them, and to this Purpose they join'd in Alliance with two Towns that were subject to *Tezcuco*, being the nearest to the Lake, whence they drew Dirches, Trenches, and other Works to do mischief with the more Safety.

Cortes being inform'd, that the two Towns subject to *Tezcuco* near the Lake had fortify'd themselves, he march'd with twelve Horse, two hundred *Spanish* Foot, two Pieces of Cannon, and some *Tlascallans*. Having advanc'd a League and an half, not far from the aforesaid Towns, he found Parties going out upon Discovery, took some of them, came to the Towns, attack'd their Works, beat them down, and burnt many Houses. The Inhabitants fled, leaving many dead behind them. The next Day, three of the Prime Men came to beg Pardon, promising to serve *Cortes*, who forgave them on Account of their being *Don Ferdinand's* Subjects, as also, because besides his being naturally of a mild Disposition, he thought it convenient so to do in this War. The next Day after, some *Indians* of the same Towns came to him, wounded, saying, the *Mexicans* were got into their Towns, and had turn'd them out, and that they fear'd they would return, therefore praying for Relief. He caus'd them to be

be dress'd, and order'd they should give him Notice when there was occasion. The People of *Chalco* likewise desir'd Assistance, which he said they should have, when he sent for the Brigantines, for he could not sooner ; but Embassadors arriving at the same time from *Gnaxocingo*, *Chulula*, and *Guchachula*, to know how he did, and whether he had occasion for more Men, because they had not heard from him, since he departed their Provinces, he gave them in Charge to assist the People of *Chalco*, who were Subjects of the Crown of *Spain*, as they were themselves, without regarding their former Animosities ; which they promis'd to do, and from that Time forward they were all Friends.

THOSE that were with *Martin Lopez* employ'd about Building the Brigantines, receiv'd Intelligence that a Ship was arriv'd at *Vera Cruz*, with forty Foot Soldiers, eight Horse, some Cross-bows, Muskets, and Powder ; but the Road not being safe, and *Cortes* having given Orders, that none should go to him, without his Leave, by Reason of the Hazard, and they not daring to disobey him, did not know how to give him Notice of the Succour that was arriv'd. A Servant of his about twenty-five Years of Age, thinking to please his Master with this Intelligence, and that of the Brigantines being finish'd, set out in the Night, and travelling hastily, with what Provisions he could carry, lying hid all the Day, tho' not without Danger, arriv'd safe at the Army, to the Admiration of them all, and great Joy of *Cortes* for the good News ; who without losing any Time, immediately sent *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with two hundred Foot and fifteen Horse to bring the Brigantines, with Orders in his Way utterly to destroy the Town of *Zulapeque*, afterwards call'd the *Morisco* Town, bordering on *Tlascala*, because those were the People that had kill'd and taken the three hundred *Tlascallans*, five Horse,

and forty-five *Spanish* Foot, that were going from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*, when *Cortes* was distress'd there, and they at *Tezcuco* had set up in their Temples, the Hides of the Horses stuff'd, with their Feet and Shoes, as artificially as could have been done in any Part of the World; and they hung up the Arms and Cloaths of the *Spaniards* as Trophies, and their Skins fastned to the Walls. *Sandoval* set out very intent upon revenging that Cruelty, for all those Things having been found at *Tezcuco*, they had been daily before their Eyes. The Case was, that the People of *Zulapeque* having receiv'd those Troops in friendly Manner, and made much of them, that they might be the less upon their Guard, they fell upon them when the Horsemen were dismounted, going up a very steep Hill, and where the Foot could not make use of their Weapons, and so carry'd them to *Tezcuco*, where they sacrific'd those that had been taken alive, and did the rest that has been mention'd. *Sandoval* coming to a Palace somewhat short of *Zulapeque*, found these Words written with a Coal, *Here was the unfortunate John Juste*, which mov'd all that saw it to Compassion. The Townsmen hearing that the *Spaniards* were coming, fled with Precipitation; but being pursu'd, many were kill'd and taken, and all the latter made Slaves for their Offence, *Sandoval* granted their Lives to the rest that came afterwards to beg Pardon, because they confess'd the Fact, promising not to suffer themselves to be impos'd upon for the future by the Devil.

WHILST these Things were in Agitation, *Martin Lopez* try'd his Brigantines on the River *Zabnalt*, and found they answer'd his Expectation. *Alonso de Ojeda*, *John Marquez*, *John Gonzalez*, and two other *Spaniards*, thinking no time ought to be lost, caus'd them to be unrigg'd, taken in Pieces, and laid on the Backs of *Indians*, and then march'd with eighty thousand Men, the Republick of *Tlascala* furnish'd to *Guarilipa*, within

within that Dominion, where *Cortes* had agreed they should be met by the *Spaniards*, but they not coming, the *Tlascallans* said, they were strong enough to secure them, and therefore they ought not to stay. However the *Spaniards* fed them with good Words, alledging, that though what they said was true, it was requisite to wait their Orders from the General. Yet when they had stay'd eight Days, having no News of *Sandoval*, they set out, and after the first Day's March, the Sentinels at Midnight heard the Jingling of the Bells at the Breast-plates of three Horses *Sandoval* had sent out to discover the meaning of the many Fires he had seen, who in their Return to give an Account of what they had found, met *Sandoval* following them with two other Horsemen, having left the Forces a League off. The next Day both Parties saw each others Colours, and joyning with much Joy, continu'd their March. Eight thousand Men carrying the Rigging and Planks, march'd by two and two. Eight Horsemen, and one hundred *Spanish* Foot led the Van, and the like Number brought up the Rear. On the Flanks march'd *Ayutecat* and *Tentepil*, two Prime Men of *Tlascala*, with each of them ten thousand Men. *Chechimocat*, another *Tlascallan* Nobleman march'd with ten thousand more in the Rear, the rest return'd Home, there being no need of them. When they began to enter upon the Dominions of *Cu-lua*, it was thought fit to march after another manner, placing the Carriers of the Planks and other Necessaries in the Van, follow'd by *Chichimecat*, Commander of the Men that bore the said Burdens, who took it as an Affront, saying, he would march foremost in the Enemy's Country, having always had the first and most dangerous Place in the Battles, as his Forefathers had done, and that he would be the first Man that should enter *Mexico*. *Sandoval* had enough to do to appease him with abundance of good Words. The fourth
Day

134 *The HISTORY of America.*

Day they enter'd *Tezcucó*, the *Indians* being in their best Apparel, with their Feathers, and other Ornaments that made a gallant Appearance. *Cortes* came out to meet them finely dress'd, and well attended. He embrac'd the *Tlascallan* Noblemen, did them much Honour, and stood to see all pass by in Order, which held six Hours, after which he quarter'd and treated them, they expressing their Eagerness to fall upon their Enemies.

C H A P. II.

The Brigantines launch'd in the Lake; Actions of Cortes in the Dominions of Mexico and Tezcucó; he takes Quau-navac, a Place of great Strength, and the City of Suchimilco.

AT this very Time *Cortes* receiv'd Advice, that four Ships were arriv'd at *Vera Cruz* from *Hispaniola*, with two hundred *Spaniards*, eighty Horses, Arms, and Ammunition, and among them *John de Alderete*, who was the first Treasurer the King had in *New Spain*. These Men set forward immediately, and came in Safety to *Tezcucó*, being a considerable Reinforcement to *Cortes*, who press'd the fitting out of the Brigantines. That Place being half a League from the Lake, and upon a Brook that had very little Water, eight thousand *Indians* (as *Martin Lopez* writ) dug a Trench along it so wide, that it could hold all the Brigantines, and at certain Distances they made Dams, to be able to convey them, with Engines, to pass them beyond those Dams. When they were all made fast, there

there arose such a Tempest of Wind and Rain, that without immediate Help they had been dash'd in Pieces one against another. Where the last Dam should be, they met with Stone, yet with Pick-axes and Crows they made a shelving Way, for the Brigantines, when the Flash of Water came to run down with much Precipitation into the Lake. The Morning that they were to be launch'd into the Lake was kept with much Devotion, and when the Signal was given, the Brigantines all ran safe into the Lake, where they let fly their Colours, the Musick play'd, the Guns were fir'd, and both the *Spanish* and *Indian* Forces answer'd them. Then *Te Deum* was sung for the happy Success; and indeed it was wonderful that thirteen such Vessels should be built in a Country where no Necessaries for them could be found, carry'd on Mens Shoulders twenty Leagues, and so successfully finish'd. When that Work Cortes had been so intent upon was brought to Perfection, he sent *Alonso de Ojeda* with five thousand *Tlascalkans* to *Villa Rica*, to bring away the Pieces of heavy Cannon, that had been left there by a Ship from *Jamaica*. *Ojeda* had several Skirmishes with the Enemy in his way to *Villa Rica*, and arriving there, dismounted the Guns, laid them on Biers, and the Carriages on others, each carry'd by twenty *Indians*, who were frequently reliev'd. He also took some Barrels of Pilchards for the Army, which had never its fill of Provisions; and had many Reneounters by the Way, the Enemy growing bold because they saw him encumber'd with the Burthens; but the *Tlascalkans* fought bravely. As soon as he got into the Territories of *Tlascala*, he was every where met on the Ways with Provisions, well entertain'd in that City, rested one Day, and was furnish'd with fresh Forces, and Men to carry the Burdens, those he had brought being tir'd. Those People furnish'd all Things with extraordinary Affection, without ever regarding the

the Offers frequently made them by the *Mexicans*, who though Barbarians did all that could be imagin'd either publickly or privately, to support themselves; but the *Tlascallans* protested, they would never upon any Account break the Promise they had made to *Cortes*. In Conclusion, *Ojeda* came safe to *Tezcucuo*, and *Cortes* to require this, and other Services perform'd by him, and because he understood and spoke the *Indian* Language very well, made him General of one hundred and eighty thousand *Indians* he had in his Camp.

Cortes, perceiving that his *Indians* grew uneasy, because nothing was done against the *Mexicans*, took the Field with thirty Horse, and three hundred *Spanish* Foot, and *Ojeda* with forty thousand *Tlascallans*, leaving the rest of the Forces under the Command of *Sandoval*, and to prevent the People of *Tezcucuo*'s giving Advice to the *Mexicans*, not mentioning whether he was going, he march'd along one Side of the Lake to the Northward, and having advanc'd four Leagues, met a great Body of the Enemy, whom he attack'd with his Horse, routed them, the *Tlascallans* follow'd the Pursuit, kill'd many, and took a considerable Booty of Mantles, Targets, Feathers, and Jewels. That Night they lay in the Field. The next Day they proceeded to *Xaltoca*, seated in a distinct Lake from that which lies between *Mexico* and *Tezcucuo*, and because the Inhabitants confiding in their many Ditches, scoff'd at the *Spaniards*, they enter'd the Water up to their Breasts, and though several of them were hurt with Stones, Arrows, and other Weapons, they took the Town, burnt great Part of it, and with the Provisions they found there advanc'd a League farther, where they stay'd that Night with a light Supper. Moving in the Morning they saw some Enemies who durst not engage, but made great Cries at a Distance, and coming to another Town call'd *Guanticlan*, four Leagues from *Mexico*, found it abandon'd, lay there

that Night, and went on the next Day to *Tenayuca*, two Leagues from *Mexico*, to which Place the Lake then extended, without meeting any Opposition. Thence they proceeded to *Escapuzalco*, on the Lake, as well as the last, and but a League from *Mexico*. Being come to *Tacuba*, *Cortes* found it full of Men, and fortify'd with broader and deeper Trenches than other Places; but notwithstanding the Defence made by the Inhabitants, the Place was enter'd, and some of them kill'd, when Night coming on he resolv'd to take up his Quarters in that City, keeping a strict Guard. The next Day the *Tlascallans* plunder'd *Tacuba*, and burnt many Houses, and *Cortes* staying there six Days, to insult the *Mexicans*, many Skirmishes hapned with them, in which the *Tlascallans* always signaliz'd themselves, and generally came off victorious. There were many Challenges, sometimes Man to Man, sometimes two to two, or four to four, and it is worth observing how desperately they fought, and how they revil'd one another; for when once engag'd, they must either conquer, or dye. *Cortes* having order'd *Ojeda* to take the Gold from the *Tlascallans*, and leave them whatsoever else they got in the Plunder, many thousands of them went away, whereupon that was no more practis'd for the future. The People of *Chalco* came again to beg Aid, the *Mexicans* intending to destroy them, because they furnish'd *Cortes* with Provisions, and he having need of them, sent *Sandoval* with three hundred *Spanish* Foot, and twenty Horse. He being join'd by some Forces from *Guaxocingo*, and *Guacachula*, advanc'd to *Gnastepeque*, where the *Mexican* Garrisons came out to meet him, but were soon routed. The *Tlascallans* fell to plundering of the Town, where much Cotton Cloth was made, and tho' the Enemy return'd and gave a fresh Charge, they were again put to Flight, and pursu'd for the Space of a League. They advanc'd next to *Capistla*, a Town

seated on an Eminence, very difficult of Access, so that the Inhabitants throwing abundance of Stones, the Horses could not mount, nor durst the *Tlascalans* come near. *Sandoval* and *Tapia* saying, it was a Shame that any Place should be thought too strong for the *Spaniards*, began first to climb, and were follow'd by many Soldiers, several of whom were wounded, and then the Confederate *Indians* seeing them gain Ground ran on to the Attack. Many of the Defendants were kill'd, and so many of those that fled out at the other side of the Town, fell down Headlong, that a little River there was so bloody, that the Men tho' thirsty, could not drink for a considerable Time. *Sandoval* having satisfy'd the People of *Chalco*, return'd to *Texcuco*, and was no sooner there than Messengers came to acquaint him that the *Mexicans* attack'd them with greater Fury than before. *Sandoval*, went back, had another Battle, and drove the *Mexicans* into the Lake, took forty Prisoners, whom he carry'd to *Texcuco*, and *Cortes* gave them their Liberty, as he did by all others he took, hoping to put an end to that War without more Bloodshed.

THE Road to *Vera Cruz* was now safer, so that more frequent Intelligence was receiv'd from thence, and a Messenger who came with some Cross-bows and Muskets, brought advice that more Ships were arriv'd there with Men. On *Easter Eve* the Inhabitants of *Chalco* again sent for Aid, and *Cortes* told them, he would go in Person. When ready to set out, Embassadors came from the Provinces of *Tucapan*, *Maxtacingo* and *Auatlan*, bringing great Presents, praying to be receiv'd into Favour, and offering to become Subjects to the great Lord of the Christians, *Cortes* receiv'd and dismiss'd them favourably, saying, he was going to assist the *Chalcotecans*, and would do the like by them, when they should have occasion. He set out the 5th of *April*, this Year 1521, with
three

three hundred *Spanish* Foot, thirty Horse, and twenty thousand *Tlascallans* and *Tezcucans*, leaving *Sandoval* to command the other Forces, but before he arriv'd at *Chalco*, forty thousand Confederates had join'd him. He made a short stay there, saying, he would take a view of the Lake, and by the way was told, that the *Mexicans* waited for him in the Field. He lay that Night in a Town belonging to *Chalco*, ordering all the Army to be in a Readiness at break of Day. Setting out in the Morning, after Mass, about two in the Afternoon he pass'd between very steep Mountains, and there on a sort of a Rock spy'd abundance of Women, Children, and arm'd Men, who shouted at him. To pass by them without taking notice, would look like Cowardice, and to attack them in that strong Place, seem'd a Rashness, however he resolv'd, rather than leave an Enemy in the Rear to give the Assault in three several Places at once, under the Command of the Ensign *Christopher de Corral*, the Captains, *Francis Verdugo*, and *John Rodriguez*, and *Peter de Irzio*, and *Andrew de Monjarraz*, directing them to fall on at the same Time, upon a Signal given. They gain'd two thirds of the Rock, but could not advance any further, because those above were continually supply'd from their Army in the Field, and casting down Stones wounded twenty *Spaniards*, and kill'd two, so that the rest were oblig'd to retire, till the Forces that kept the Field, and supply'd them, being routed, they submitted and begged Pardon, offering to prevail with others, who defended another Rock to do the same. *Cortes* having succeeded in those two Enterprizes, which gain'd him much Reputation, advanc'd to *Gastepeque*, took up his Quarters in a House of that Lord, which stood in an Orchard, that was two Leagues in Compass, through the midst whereof ran a River, the Banks of it were cover'd with Trees, and Houses at certain distances, with Gardens, of variety of Fruit and Flowers. There was

also variety of Birds, Plots of Ground sow'd, Fountains, several Rocks artificially cut, eating Rooms, Oratories, and Mounts to look out, the Stairs to them cut out in the Rock. There the Army rested one Day, and proceeded thence to *Taupeque*, where were considerable Forces which fled, and were pursu'd as far as *Xicitepeque*, where many Men were kill'd, and many Women taken. The Lord of the Place not coming to make his Submission, it was burnt, and as they were departing, Messengers came from another Town call'd *Taupeque*, submitting themselves to the King of *Spain*.

THAT Day *Cortes* came in Sight of a very strong Town, call'd *Quannavac*, which had only two ways to go into it, by reason of the many Walls, and Quagmires, nor did the *Spaniards* know those ways, but upon viewing found them out, and drew near, not doubting but that they should get in. The Defendants did much harm, and no Ground was gain'd, but when it was least expected, a brave *Tlascallan* got through a very dangerous way, and the Defendants thinking that the *Spaniards* were breaking in there, fled in a Consternation, six *Spaniards* had follow'd the *Tlascallan*, and entring the Town, fell upon the Backs of those that made good the Wall against *Cortes*, there being only a Slough between, which serv'd instead of a Ditch. They being in a Fright at that unexpected Attack, quitted their Post, and were pursu'd by other *Spaniards* and *Tlascallans* that had then enter'd the Place. Thus was this strong Fortress gain'd, and the Townsmen fled to the Mountains; but the next Day the Lord return'd, to submit himself, and beg Pardon. *Cortes* having forgiven them held on his way to *Mexico*, through Woods of Pine Trees, and a desert Country, without any Guide. He march'd through a Mountain Pass that was three Leagues in Length, enduring so much Thirst, that some *Indians*

dians dy'd. The next Day they were in Sight of *Suchimilco*, a fine City, seated in the fresh Water Lake, four Leagues from *Mexico*, and well fortify'd with Ditches, and Trenches. The Inhabitants rejecting the Peace offer'd them, the *Spaniards* attack'd the first Trench, and carry'd it in half an Hour; then pursuing their Victory, they pass'd a large Cut of Water, and tho' wet, possess'd themselves of half the City, the Fight continuing with great Cries, some saying, Kill, and others suing for Peace; but this being known to be a Slight, to gain Time to save their Goods, useless People, and expect Succours, no notice was taken of them. Two *Spaniards* were kill'd, because they went aside to plunder. The *Indians* fell upon the Backs of the *Spaniards*, the same Way they came in; but *Cortes* turn'd with a few Horsemen, and routed them, tho' some *Mexicans* stood boldly with their Swords and Targets. *Cortes's* Horse being quite tir'd, lay down, and he fought desperately a-foot, surrounded by a Number of Enemies, who rally'd upon some Relief coming to them. A *Tlascallan* with his Sword, and Target came to his Assistance and said, Fear not, I am a *Tlascallan*. They fought a while, beat off their Enemies, the *Tlascallan* help'd him to get up his Horse that had breath'd a little, he look'd upon the *Indian*, thought him very brave, and well shap'd; other *Indians* and *Spaniards* came in and quite drove away the Enemy. The Men being drawn together lay that Night in the City, keeping strict Guard. The next Day *Cortes* look'd out for the *Indian* that had rescu'd him, who could not be found dead or alive.

Quantimoc, the new King of *Mexico* being inform'd that *Cortes* had taken *Suchimilco*, made a Speech to his Nobility to encourage them to recover that Place, and defend their Country to the utmost. Accordingly above twelve thousand Men embark'd on two thousand Canoes, a numberless Multitude marching by
Land,

142 *The HISTORY of America.*

Land, without displaying their Colours, or sounding their Martial Musick, for the more Secrecy. *Cortes* having receiv'd Advice of it by his Spies, went up to the top of a Tower to take a view of them, drew up his Men in three Bodies, and the Enemy drew near both by Land and Water, at the same Time. They had many of the Swords they had before taken of the *Spaniards* in their City, and advanc'd, crying, *Mexico, Mexico.* *Cortes* order'd five hundred *Tlascallans*, and twenty of his Horsemen to break through the Enemy, and get up a Hill that was hard by, and to charge again when he directed them. They did so, with much Bravery and Success, and the *Spaniards* falling on in the other Parts, the Battle grew very hot. Then *Cortes* order'd the *Tlascallans* and Horsemen on the Hill to fall in upon the Enemy's Rear. The Horse did much Execution, but one Body coming on as soon as another was broken, three Days were taken up in the Action before a compleat Victory could be obtain'd, by which several *Spanish* Swords were recover'd. The Town, though consisting of very good Buildings, was burnt, and the Enemy close pursu'd as far as *Cuyoacan*, two Leagues from *Suchimilco*. *Cortes* then went about to view the several Causeways, in order to lay Siege to *Mexico*, those People boldly venturing out to Attack his Baggage, but great Numbers of them were kill'd, and the *Tlascallans* got a considerable Booty by them. In short, after a long and troublesome March, he return'd to *Tezcucó*. There he muster'd his *Spaniards*, and found nine hundred Foot and eighty-six Horse, and among the Foot one hundred and eighteen Cross-bow Men and Musketeers; the rest being Pike and Target Men, with some Coats of Mail and Cotton Armour; three large Pieces of Iron Cannon, fifteen small ones of Brass, ten hundred Weight of Powder, and Store of Ball. He compleated the fitting of the Brigantines, putting one Gun into

into each of them, nominated all the Commanders, and publish'd Ordinances, which being strictly observ'd, contributed much to his good Success. *Alonso de Ojeda* was sent to adjust the Difference there was between the Inhabitants of *Chulula*, and those of *Topoyanco*, about their Borders, after which he was to proceed to *Tlascala* to bring away the Forces of that Republick; giving them Warning, that unless they came in ten Days, the War would be carry'd on without them, and they would lose their great Share of the Booty. *Ojeda* accordingly spoke to the Lords of *Tlascala*, who return'd him a favourable Answer; but the Forces not being so ready as he expected, he march'd away to *Gualipa*, with four thousand Men, who by the next Morning were increas'd to thirty thousand, and the next Day to near two hundred thousand, all counted by *Xiquipiles* of the Cacao Berries, by which they keep their reckning.

WITH this Force *Ojeda* march'd to *Tezcucuo*, *Cortes* came out to meet them, embrac'd all the Prime Men. That City, though so large, could not contain all the Multitude, who were very gay, well arm'd, and eager to Fight, as they afterwards made it appear. *Cortes* made a Speech to his *Spaniards*, and another to the Chiefs of the *Indians*, who all answer'd him to his Hearts content, showing their Alacrity and Readiness to follow him. On *Easter Monday* he made the Distribution of his Forces, after this manner. He reserv'd to himself three hundred Men, with which he was to serve aboard the Brigantines; *Peter de Alvarado* had thirty Horse, and one hundred and fifty Foot with Swords and Targets, eighteen Cross-bow Men and Musketeers, two Pieces of Cannon, and above thirty thousand *Tlascallans*, to take his Post at *Tacuba*. *Christopher de Olid* had thirty-three Horse, eighteen Cross-bows and Musketeers, one hundred and sixty other Foot, two Pieces of Cannon, and near thirty

144 *The HISTORY of America.*

ty thousand *Tlascallans*, to take Post at *Cuyoacan*. *Gonçalo de Sandoval* had thirty-three Horse, four Musketeers, thirteen Cross-bows, fifteen Foot with Swords and Targets, and all the *Indians* of *Guaxo-tingo*, *Chulula*, and *Chalco*, being about forty thousand, who were to destroy the City of *Tzatzapalapa*, and take Post as should be thought most convenient, after joining the Garrison of *Cuyoacan*, and advancing along one of the Causeways on the Lake, being assisted by the Brigantines, to the End that *Cortes* then advancing with them, *Sandoval* might the better take his Quarters where he thought fit. *Martin Lopez*, a bold and discreet Man, was with the Brigantines, with Men us'd to the Sea, each Vessel carrying twenty-five Spaniards, and six Cross-bow Men and Musketeers. *Alvarado* and *Olid* march'd out from *Tezcucuo* on the 22d of *May*, to take their Posts, and coming to *Tacuba*, found it abandon'd, quarter'd in the Lord's House, and though it was late, the *Tlascallans* would take a view of *Mexico*, and fought three Hours with those People. The next Day the Commanders cut off the Aqueduct that convey'd Water to the City, which was a very great Loss to it, and the same Day they caus'd the Ways about the Lake to be repair'd, that the Horse might with more ease haste from one Place to another. Having spent four Days in gaining some Trenches and strong Passes, *Olid* went away to *Cuyoacan*. We will now leave *Mexico* for a while, to take Notice of what was doing in other Parts, and then return to the Siege.



C H A P. III.

Magellan's Voyage to the South-Sea ; his Death ; what hapned afterwards to his Ships ; their Arrival at the Molucco Islands, and what befel them there, till the Ship Victory sail'd for Spain.

WE left *Magellan* just enter'd into the *South Sea*, through the Streight he had discover'd, and which is still known by his Name. He now in the beginning of this Year 1521, advancing with his three Ships into that Ocean, which daily appear'd more immense, finding the Sun in his Zenith in twenty-one Degrees fifty Minutes of South Latitude, steer'd still on to the Northward, hoping to find some Islands, where he might get Provisions, and sail'd two thousand Leagues, without seeing any Thing besides two Desert Islands in the midst of the Ocean. They advanc'd eight hundred Leagues farther, and on the 20th of *January* found themselves in the Latitude of fifteen Degrees forty-eight Minutes, where they saw two very beautiful Islands, inhabited by abundance of brutish People, who worship'd Idols, and pass'd from one Island to the other, being eight Leagues distant, in Canoes, the biggest of which could carry only ten Men. They had well shap'd Shoulder of Mutton Sails, made of Palm-tree Leaves ; their Food was Coco-Nuts, Ynames, and some little Rice. So many of the Natives going aboard, that the Ships could not hold them, *Magellan* order'd them to be turn'd out, which was done by Force, because they would not go. Those *Indians* being provok'd at it, return'd in their Canoes, and threw so many Stones, and Staves hardned in the

Fire, that though at first he had order'd that they should not be hurt, not being able to endure it any longer, he caus'd the great Guns to be fir'd, which kill'd some, and yet they came again to Barter what they had for such Things as they lik'd aboard the Ships. One Afternoon, as they were cruizing by one of those Islands, the *Indians* loosned the Skiff that was at the Commander's Stern, and carry'd it away. The next Morning he sent two Boats with ninety arm'd Men, to a Place at the Foot of a Mountain, whither they had carry'd the Skiff. The *Indians* ran up the Hill, and threw so many Stones as if it had hail'd, but as soon as the Muskets were fir'd they fled, then the *Spaniards* enter'd the Town, set Fire to it, kill'd all they found there, and carry'd off the Provisions. The *Indians* supposing that to be done for the Skiff, turn'd it out to Sea, which *Magellan* secur'd, water'd, and divided the Refreshments, many of the Men being Sick for Want. The next Day he sail'd from those Islands, which he call'd *de las Velas Latinas*, that is, of the Shoulder of Mutton Sails, advanc'd three hundred Leagues Westward, and discover'd many Islands, where there was Plenty of Provisions, and they understood the Language of an *Indian* *Magellan* had with him. Passing through them they anchor'd at a small Island, call'd *Mazagua*, near a little Town. The King sent a Canoe with ten Men, to know who they were, and what they wanted, and because the Interpreter understood them, *Magellan* answer'd, that they were Subjects of the King of *Spain*, who would conclude a Peace with him, and trade, desiring to be supply'd with Provisions, and they would pay for them. The King answer'd, he had not enough for so many Men, but would part what he had with them. They carry'd aboard the Ships four Swine, three Goats, and some Rice, and that being *Easter Sunday*, *Magellan* order'd all the People to go ashore to hear Mass, and a great

great Cross to be set up on an high Hill, to the Intent that if other Ships hapned to come thither, they might see that Christians had been there before. *Magellan* ask'd the King, whether there was any Place, where he might be furnish'd with Provisions. He answer'd, that there was a great Island twenty Leagues off, the King whereof was his Relation, and would supply him with as much as he requir'd, and being desir'd to send Pilots to show the Way, he offer'd to go himself. *Magellan* made him some Presents, besides what he had given before, the King imbarck'd with some *Indians*, and when they arriv'd at the Island of *Zebu*, for so it was call'd, above two thousand Men came out of the Town, arm'd with Spears, and large Shields, who with much Astonishment gaz'd on the Ships, having never seen any before. The King of *Mazagua* went ashore, told the King his Relation, that those were peaceable People, that they had valuab'e Commodities to Barter, and that he should furnish them with Provisions, because they were in great Want. The King of *Zebu* sent to signify to *Magellan*, that he would have him in the first Place to establish Peace, who answering that he was willing, the King sent again to acquaint him, that his Custom was, when he made Peace with any strange Nation, that the two Prime Men should be let Blood in the Breasts, and that they should drink one another's Blood. *Magellan* said, he was content it should be so, and the next Morning, when he expected the King aboard to perform that Ceremony, he sent Word, that he took his good Will for the Deed, and look'd upon the Peace as concluded; whereupon *Magellan* order'd all the Guns to be fir'd for Joy, which so astonish'd the *Indians*, that if it had been done before the Conclusion of the Peace, all the Inhabitants would have fled out of the Town. The *Indians* immediately carry'd aboard the Ships a great quantity of Fowls, Swine, Goats, Rice,

Coco-nuts, Ynames, and other sorts of Fruit, all which was purchas'd for Hawks-bells, and Glass Beads. Four Days after, when the Men were recover'd by the Plenty of Provisions, *Magellan* order'd a Stone Chamber to be made ashore, to say Mass in. As soon as done, he went ashore with his Men to hear Mass; the King, Queen, their Son, and all the prime Men, flock'd to see what the Christians would do, and the Priest, by means of the Interpreter, gave them some account of the Catholick Faith, whereupon they said, they would be Christians; the Priest baptiz'd them, and all the Inhabitants of the Town, and *Magellan* order'd a great Cross to be set before the Church.

THE *Indians* being baptiz'd, and *Magellan* thinking that all Things succeeded to his Mind, he caus'd a House to be built for trading, that is, a Factory, in order to barter for Provisions, and having got some Intimation of the Island of *Bornea*, resolv'd to sail thither, hoping to get better Information of the Spice Islands. There were several Kings in this Island of *Zebu*, which is one of the *Philippines*, and they were sometimes at War. The King before spoken of being become a Christian, and owning himself a Subject to the Crown of *Spain*, *Magellan* to shew him how much that would be for his Interest, sent to command the other Kings of the Island to submit themselves to the Christian King. Two of them comply'd, but the other two made no Account of his Orders; whereupon he set out at Midnight, with two Boats full of armed Men, burnt one of their Towns, and came away with good store of Provisions. The next Day, he sent word to the King of *Matan*, that he would burn his Town, if he did not submit to the Christian King. He answer'd, he might come, and he would expect him; and though the Christian King advis'd him, not to go, because he was inform-
ed,

ed, that the two Kings who had submitted, and the other, whose Town he had burnt, were already at *Matan*, with six thousand Men, he set out with sixty Men in three Boats, and the Christian King bore him Company, with one thousand Men in Canoes. Captain *Serano* pressed him not to go for several good Reasons; yet he went and arriv'd at *Matan* two Hours before Day, but the Tide being out, the Boats could not come within a Cross-bow-shot of the Town. *Magellan* would have made the Attack immediately, but the Christian King dissuaded him, knowing that the Enemy had dug many deep Pits, with sharp Snares drove into them, where his Men must needs perish; praying he would let him give the first onset with his thousand *Indians*, and support him with the *Spaniards*, which would secure the Victory. *Magellan* was so far from complying, that he commanded him to stand still, and see how the *Spaniards* fought. When it was Day, he landed with fifty-five Men, and finding no Body in the Town, set fire to it, and immediately was attack'd by two Bodies of *Indians*, with whom he maintain'd a Fight most part of the Day, till the Musketeers had no more Powder, nor the Cross-bow-men Shafts, which the Natives perceiving they pressed on, and *Magellan* thought fit to retire, the Christian King looking on all the while, as he had been commanded. In the retreat *Magellan* was kill'd, through his own Rashness, in running himself into that needless Danger, a brave Man deserving a better Fate. With him died seven *Spaniards*, and then the King seeing the rest so distressed, came in to their Relief, and brought them off. This happened on the twenty-seventh of *April* 1521, and then the *Philippine* Islands were first discover'd.

UPON the Death of *Magellan*, the *Spaniards* chose *Edward Barbosa* for their Commander in chief, being

being invited ashore by the Christian King, went with several of the Men, who were all treacherously murder'd there as they were sitting at an Entertainment provided for that wicked End. Those that remain'd aboard the Ships understanding what had hapned, appointed *John Carvallo* their Commadore, and sailing away, arriv'd at a large Island call'd *Quepindo*, the Natives whereof were Gentiles, but in the Sea-ports, there were *Moorish* Merchants, from *Malaca*, and *Java*. Finding no Rice here, they proceeded to the Island of *Puluan*, where they purchas'd great Store of Rice, Swine, Fowls, Goats, and other Things, for bits of Linnen Cloth, Knives, Scissors, Glass Beads, and other Trifles. Thence they sail'd to *Borneo*, where entering the River, three Vessels, there call'd *Canamizes*, the Stems whereof were like Serpents Heads gilt, came from the King, to enquire what Ships those were, and what they wanted. Aboard them was an antient Man, the King's Secretary, with much Noise of Trumpets, Kettledrums, and such like Instruments. The Ships saluted him with their Guns, he went aboard, embrac'd the Commadore in loving manner, and being inform'd, that they had several Commodities to trade, order'd much Plenty of Provisions to be brought, and the Commander sent by him Presents to the King, besides what he gave to him, and his Attendants. The King being inform'd of all these Particulars, desir'd to have two Men sent him to see them. *Gonzalo de Espinosa* was accordingly sent, with another, who were met by above two thousand Men, arm'd with Bows and Arrows, Trunks, Shields, and Cymiters as long as *Spanish* Swords, besides Cuirasses made of Tortoise Shells; their Cloaths all of Silk. There came with them an Elephant having a Castle on his Back, into which they put *Espinosa*, and so he was carry'd to the King, who having heard what he had to say, gave him two Pieces of *China* Damask, and

and one for every other *Spaniard*. *Espinosa* told the Commadore what he had seen, and advis'd, in regard that the City was very populous, to keep at a distance from it, till they were better acquainted with the People, which was accordingly done. Five Men being afterwards sent ashore to buy some Necessaries, were detain'd there, till those aboard the Ships seizing several Vessels of the Island, two of those *Spaniards* were restor'd, and yet the other three could not be obtained, whereupon the Ships sail'd away, and in their way took an *Indian* Vessel call'd a Junk, which the Men had abandon'd, and found in it above thirty thousand Coco-nuts. When they had refitted in a Bay, they depos'd *John Carvalho* from the chief Command they had before given him, and confer'd it on *Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa*, at the same Time *John Sebastian del Cano*, of whom more hereafter, was made Captain of the Ship *Victory*. After many difficulties, by the assistance of a *Moor* they had taken, they arriv'd at the Island of *Tidore*, one of the *Moluccos*, they had been so long in search of, on the 8th of *November*, this same Year 1521. The King of the Island whose Name was *Almanzor*, came aboard in a very rich Shirt adorn'd with gold Needle Work, and over it a white Cloth, girt about his Waste, hanging down to the Ground, and on his Head a fine Silk Veil like a Mitre. He bid the Sailors that were repairing the Buoys, Welcome, and when in the Ship, stopp'd his Nose by reason of the smell of Bacon, because he was a *Mahometan*, though those People had not been in the Island fifty Years, they being before inhabited by Gentiles, who kept themselves then in the Mountains. The *Spaniards* having paid the proper Respect, presented him, his Son, and all that attended him, and ask'd leave to trade in his Island, which he readily granted, bidding them kill any Man that offended them. He then view'd the Standard, and looking upon

152 The HISTORY of *America*.

upon the *Spanish* Coin, said, he knew before by *Astrology*, that Christians would come thither for Spice, which they might take in a good Hour. He then took off his Mitre, embrac'd them, and departed. After this the King took an Oath, that he would always be a Friend to the King of *Spain*, and supply his Subjects when they came to his Islands, with Cloves, and such other Spice as he had, in exchange for Linnen, Cloth, and Silks. The Kings and Governours of the other Island came aboard, and took the like Oath, submitting themselves to the Crown of *Spain*, and sending many Presents, and some Youths. When the Ships were ready to sail, the *Trinity*, begin the Admiral, was found leaky, and there being no possibility of refitting it, without turning up the Keel, which would take up much Time, it was resolv'd, that Caprain *John Sebastian del Cano*, in the Ship *Victory*, should sail away for *Spain* by the way the *Portugueses* us'd to take from *India*, and to carry the Letters and Presents of the Kings of the *Molucco* Islands to the King of *Spain*.

To avoid dismembring this Relation we will proceed with it in this Place, though it belong to the ensuing Year 1522, at the Beginning whereof the Ship *Victory* sail'd from *Tidore*, one of the *Molucco* Islands, with sixty *Spaniards*, and some of the Natives. They touch'd at an Island in eight Degrees and a half Latitude, that produces Pepper; and then at *Timor*, where they took in white Saunders, and saw much Ginger and Gold. Passing by *Sumatra*, by the Antients call'd *Trapobana*, they struck out into the main Ocean, and steer'd South West to avoid meeting the *Portugueses*, and left all the Coast of *India* on the Starboard side, making for the Cape of *Good Hope*. Thus they came into forty-two Degrees of South Latitude. They met with some Storms, and suffer'd much Want, whereof some dy'd, and had not God
favour'd

favour'd them with fair Winds they must all have perished. At length they arriv'd in much Distress at the Island of *Santiago*, near *Caboverde*. Thirty Men went ashore to water, and buy Provisions, and got some Blacks to pump, the Ships being leaky, and many of the *Spaniards* sick. The *Portuguese* Commander there, seiz'd them and the Boat; and endeavour'd to possess himself of the Ship, but Captain *John Sebastian del Cano* hoisted Sail, and arriv'd at *Sanlucar* on the 6th of *September* the aforesaid Year 1522, with his Men very weak, and fatigu'd. They spent three Years wanting fourteen Days on this Voyage, and mistook one Day in their reckoning, so that they eat Flesh on *Friday*, and celebrated *Easter* on *Monday*, the reason whereof shall be shown hereafter. They sail'd ten thousand, or according to their reckoning fourteen thousand Leagues. Captain *John Sebastian del Cano*, gain'd immortal Renown, being the first Man that ever went round the World. The reason of their gaining a Day, as was said above, and taking *Monday* for *Sunday* is, because in sailing continually to the Eastward, the Sun daily rises something sooner to them than it would do at the Place of their Departure, so that every Day sometime is advanc'd, which in sailing round the World amounts to a whole Day; whereas in sailing to the Westward the contrary happens, the Sun daily rising later, so that in going round that way they come to loose a Day. The other Ship, call'd the *Trinity*, which stay'd at *Tidore* to refit, when the *Victory* came away, attempted to make its way to *Panama*, but was forc'd back to the *Moluccos*, and there perished; some few of the Men that surviv'd all their Sufferings, being at last brought over aboard the *Portuguese* Ships from *India*, five Years after their Departure from *Spain*. As soon as the Ship *Victory* arriv'd at *Sanlucar* they landed their lading, being five hundred and thirty-three Quintals, or hun-

dred Weight of Cloves, some Cinnamon, Nutmegs, Sanders, and other small matters. The Men went ashore in Procession to return Thanks to God for their safe Arival after so long and before unheard of Voyage. The Emperor receiv'd Captain *John Sebastian del Cano* after a most affectionate manner, rewarding him, and all his Men, as they really deserv'd for having been the first that following the Course of the Sun from East to West, perform'd the whole Compass of this Globe, which others who only follow'd their Track, have so much boasted of. We will now return to *Cortes*, and the Proceedings in *New Spain*.

C H A P. IV.

Victories obtain'd by Cortes on the Lake, and the Causeways at Mexico; that Seige carry'd on; several Towns submit to the Crown of Spain; the Spaniards meet with a great Misfortune; the Mexicans rejoice.

THE Siege of *Mexico* being begun, as has been said before, and *Quauimoc*, the new King there, with the general consent of his Subjects resolving to stand it out to the last, all the necessary Dispositions were made on both Sides. It happened at this Time that some Spaniards broke the Head of a *Tlascallan* Man of Quality, call'd *Pileteciteth*, Cousin German to *Xicotencatl*, who commanded sixty thousand Men of their Nation, under *Alvarado*, which Insult was committed upon a Dispute about loading an *Indian*. *Alonso de Ojeda* soon hush'd up that Affair, because had *Cortes* known it, he would certainly have hang'd the Spaniards,

ards, for breaking in upon his Order, and the best way to compose that Affair had been to give him leave to return to *Tlascala*, which many, being weary of the War, much coveted. Hereupon *Xicotencatl*, who had never lov'd the *Spaniards*, stole away out of the Army, with some of his Friends. *Alvarado* soon miss'd him, and acquainted *Cortes*, who sent away *Ojeda* and *Marquez* to *Tlascala* to secure *Xicotencatl*, and the others that went away with him, which they did, and as soon as brought back to *Tezcuco*, he was hang'd on a very high Gallows, an Interpreter proclaiming the Cause of his Execution, and he tho' an haughty Man dy'd very faint-heartedly. As soon as dead, the *Indians* cut his Garments in Pieces and carry'd them away, as if they had been Relicks. This Execution struck much Terror into all the *Indians*, by reason of his high Post and Quality.

THE three Bodies under *Alvarado*, *Sandoval* and *Olid* having taken their Posts at their respect Attacks, *Cortes* went aboard the Brigantines towards the City of *Tzotapalapa*, at the Time when *Sandoval* was assaulting and burning it. Observing a Mount, or Rock encompass'd by the Water, near that City, where a great number of Men, with their Wives and Children had fortify'd themselves, and provok'd him with their Cries, he landed one hundred and fifty Soldiers, and advancing at the Head of them, though the Place was high and steep, enter'd it with Sword in Hand, slew all the Men, and sav'd the Women and Children, though twenty-five of his Men had been wounded, but none kill'd. This Conquest put all those People into a great Consternation, they having look'd upon that Place as impregnable. The *Mexicans*, and other Inhabitants of the Cities in the Lake, perceiving that *Cortes* was advancing on it, came out to meet him in an immense number of Canoes, and it pleas'd God, that just as they drew near, a brisk Gale

blew from the Shore so favourable for the Brigantines, that it look'd as if it had been miraculous, whereupon making all the Sail they could, and plying their Oars, they rush'd in furiously upon the Enemy, who began to be disorder'd by the Wind, and to fly. Abundance of Canoes were overset, and sunk, and great numbers of Men were kill'd and drowned. They follow'd the Chace for the Space of three Leagues to the very Houses of *Mexico*, taking many Persons of Note and others, the Canoes running foul of one another, and thus *Cortes* made himself Master of the Lake. *Olid*, who lay with his Troops at *Cuyoacan*, observing the Success of *Cortes*, advanc'd along the Causway, engag'd the *Mexicans*, gain'd several Trenches and Bridges, and under the Shelter of the Brigantines, which kept near the Causway, the *Tlascalans* pursu'd the Enemy, took and kill'd many, and many threw themselves off the Causway, on that Side where the Brigantines were not. Thus they follow'd their Victory for a full League. When the *Mexicans* were all fled into their City, *Cortes* landing with thirty Men, by Force made himself Master of certain Idol Towers that were within Inclosures of Stone Walls, where he planted three Pieces of Cannon, and the Causway for half a League, to the City being throng'd with People, and abundance of Canoes on both Sides of it, he order'd one Piece to be discharg'd, which kill'd very many as they stood so thick, whereupon the rest retir'd. The Powder then took Fire, through the negligence of the Gunner, and more was sent for to *Xtapolapa*, being two Leagues off. *Cortes* not thinking fit to abandon that Post he had gain'd, resolv'd to stay there himself, bringing more Men from the Forces under *Sandoval* and *Olid*, and to keep the Brigantines there. The *Mexicans* thought, if they attack'd the *Spaniards* at Midnight, they should find them asleep, being tir'd with the Fatigue of the Day before.

The HISTORY of *America*. 157

before, though this was contrary to their Custom, and accordingly great numbers advanc'd along the Causway, and in Canoes, but they never doing any thing without Noise, and *Cortes* being very vigilant, they were soon repuls'd by the Shot from the Fire-arms and Cross-bows.

THE next Morning, as soon as it was Day, Multitudes of *Mexicans* made another Sally on the Causway, and in Canoes, did harm on the other side of the Causway, where the Brigantines were not, he order'd a Passage to be cut through, and four of them to pass, which secur'd the Causway, and gave Chace to the Canoes, burning some Houses in the City. *Sandoval* advancing along this Causway, burnt the little City of *Cuyoacan*, and finding the Causway there broken, with the Assistance of two Brigantines, laid a Bridge over it. There *Sandoval* finding *Cortes* engag'd went to his Assistance, and was struck through the Foot with one of the Darts hardened at the Fire, which the *Indians* threw. The Action continu'd here six Days, with very little Intermiſſion, the Brigantines burning the Houses of the City in several Parts, and found a Passage to go round, and penetrate into it, which kept the Canoes at a great distance from the Besiegers, whereas before their numbers were terrible. *Alvarado* having acquainted *Cortes*, that the *Mexicans* had a Communication with the Continent by two Causways, he sent *Olid*, though wounded, and others to secure those Passes, by which means the City was quite enclos'd. *Cortes* then march'd himself a-foot at the head of his Men, and gain'd an Intrenchment the Enemy had made behind a Breach on the Causway. Thence he proceeded to the Entrance into the City, where was a strong Idol Tower, and at the Foot of it a great Bridge drawn up, with a strong work behind it, a great Stream of Water running before it. Here the Multitude of *Indians*,
and

158 The HISTORY of *America*.

and the Violence of the Water stopp'd the *Spaniards*, but *Cortes* order'd Targeteers to draw up in the Front, and behind them the Muskets and Cross-bows to give a Diversion, whilst the Brigantines landing Men on the Sides gain'd the Intrenchment, which was perform'd with less Difficulty than had been conceiv'd, the Defendants flying, and then *Cortes* pass'd over with his *Spaniards* and *Indians*, which last being eighty thousand soon fill'd up the Breach where the Bridge had been, with Stones and Earth. Hence they went on and gain'd another Work that was in the greatest Street of the whole City, and without halting came to another Bridge that was drawn up, where after removing the *Indians* with their Fire-Arms, several *Spaniards* cast themselves into the Water, and got over, though loden with their Cotton Armour, which Boldness of theirs made the *Mexicans* quit their Post, and the Tops of the Houses. The Breach of the Bridge was soon fill'd up, the Forces pass'd, and pursu'd those that fled to another Bridge that was not drawn up, nor fortify'd, near one of the great Markers in the City, the Inhabitants having left it so, as not believing that the Besiegers could ever come thither. Being thus come upon the firm Land, *Cortes* order'd the Cannon to Fire into that Market, where every Shot made a dreadful Slaughter, the *Mexicans* being there as thick as they could stand. However the *Spaniards* thought not fit to enter into that Square, till *Cortes* telling them, it was not Time to be weary, or faint-hearted, taking a Target, and crying *St. James* rush'd in foremost. The *Mexicans* not being able to withstand the Fury of the *Spaniards*, and their Confederates, retir'd into the Inclosure of the Temple, being a Stone Wall, as large as a Town of four hundred Houses, which they could not defend, but took Shelter in the Towers and other close Places; till observing that their Enemies had no Horses with them, they return'd to the Fight
in

in such desperate manner, that they drove them quire out of the Market, and down the Street, till three Horsemen coming up, the *Mexicans* thinking there had been more, quitted all again, after a great Slaughter. The Defendants still rally'd again, and had not six Horsemen more appear'd, and the Gaps where the Water ran before been well stopp'd, the Assailants must have been in great Danger, who then retir'd, setting Fire to many of the Houses, to prevent the throwing down of Stones from the Tops of them. The other two Attacks were carry'd on at the same Time, and though there was the Distance of a League and an half between them, the City being so large, there was an immense Multitude of Defendants at each of them. *Don Ferdinand*, whom *Cortes* had made Lord of *Texcuco*, in return for that Favour, now sent fifty thousand Men to his Assistance. Above twenty thousand Men more came from *Suchimilco*, a City in the Lake, and some Towns of *Otomies*, a Mountain People, bringing great Store of Provisions.

Cortes finding that his Brigantines had so much aw'd the Canoes, that none of them durst appear, kept only seven of them with himself, and sent three to *Alvarado*, and three to *Sandoval*, the Forces *Olid* commanded before having join'd him. These Brigantines were of much use in those Parts, taking many Canoes that carry'd Provisions into the City, and aiding the Troops. *Cortes* having made it known to all his Forces that he would give a general Assault, the third Day accordingly advanc'd, with twenty Horsemen, three hundred *Spanish* Foot, a great Number of Allies, and three Pieces of Cannon. The Fight began immediately very hot, the Brigantines doing good Service, and the Artillery making great Slaughter; by which means they advanc'd to a Square, or Market Place, where they halted till all the Gaps in the Causeway they had left behind were fill'd up. The *Mexicans* did much harm
from

from the flat Roofs of their Houses, whereupon the General of *Texcoco* told *Cortes*, that all he did would avail little, unless he destroy'd them ; which Advice he approv'd of, and accordingly order'd the great Palaces in that Square to be fir'd, and *Motezuma's* Bird House, a very beautiful Structure was then burnt, besides many others. In the Evening *Cortes* commanded the Forces to retire, when the *Mexicans* charg'd them with incredible Fury, being inrag'd at the burning of their fine Houses, the Slaughter of so many of their People, to see the *Otomies*, and those of *Chalco* and *Sutchimilco*, whom they look'd upon as their Slaves, fighting against them, and the *Tlascallans* showing them the Arms and Legs of their dead, which they would eat for Supper that Night, as they did. The next Day the Fight was renewed, and they retreated again at Night ; *Alvarado* and *Sandoval* much blaming *Cortes* for it, being of Opinion that what was gain'd ought to be maintain'd, and not to go over the same again every Day. He alledg'd, that he had not a sufficient Power to do it ; that if he stay'd in the City the Enemy would attack him continually, and that he could not be able to cut off the Provisions from the City, as he did where he was. The Inhabitants of the Towns of *Yztapalapa*, *Ocholobusco*, *Mexicalzingo*, *Mezquique*, *Cuiclavaca*, and other Places in the fresh Water Lake, had stood Neuters till this Time, when seeing the Christians prosper, they sent to offer them their Service. *Cortes* receiv'd them favourable, and desir'd they would send their arm'd Canoes to follow the Brigantines, and to carry Necessaries for the Conveniency of the Men in their Quarters. They did so very readily, and carry'd much Store of Provisions. *Cortes* observing that neither the Destruction of such Numbers, nor the Want of Provisions, did prevail with the *Mexicans* to sue for Peace, resolv'd, that no Day should pass without carrying on his Attacks, and therefore order'd

der'd four Brigantines, with one half of the Canoes, being about fifteen Hundred to take one side, and the rest the other, and so encompassing the City, to burn and do all the Mischief they could. He enter'd the great Street, found no Opposition, went on to that which leads to *Tacuba*, where were some Bridges; sent *Alonso de Avila* from thence along another Street, with sixty *Spaniards*, six Horsemen, and twelve thousand *Indians*; order'd *Andrew de Tapia* into another Street, and he with the rest of the Forces proceeded along the Street of *Tacuba*, gain'd three Bridges, stopp'd them up, and return'd to his Quarters. The next Day he enter'd the City again, designing to gain all the Street of *Tacuba*, to fix a Communication with *Alvarado*, the *Mexicans* retiring so far, that the *Spaniards* thought they had gain'd three Fourths of the City. *Alvarado* and *Sandoval* both behav'd themselves well, gain'd several Bridges with little Loss, and this Day pass'd over so successfully, that *Cortes* perswaded himself the *Mexicans* would sue for Peace, which he did all he possibly could to bring about, sending Messages to *Quauhtimoc*, and using all other proper Methods to that End.

Alvarado thinking that all Things would succeed to his Mind, neglected to fill up the Cuts and Breaches in the Street and Causeway, as *Cortes* had charg'd him to do, and resolv'd to push on at the End of the said Causeway that leads to the great Market of *Mexico*, which is larger than that at *Salamanca*, with Porticos about it. He had only two broad and dangerous Bridges to gain, before he came at that Square. The first of them being above sixty Paces in Breadth, and the Depth under it two Fathoms, he pass'd with much Difficulty, and order'd the Gap should be fill'd up, but being intent upon his Victory, did not see that it was well done. The *Mexicans* seeing he had only fifty *Spaniards*, and some *Tlascallans*, and that two Horse-

men could not pass, rally'd, and fell on so furiously that they forc'd them to fly, and take the Water. Four *Spaniards* were made Prisoners, and immediately sacrific'd in the Sight of *Alvarado*. *Cortes* was much concern'd at this Misfortune, and gave that Commander a gentle Check. The Attacks being carry'd on for some Days successfully, without any loss, *Julian de Aldrete*, the King's Treasurer, and others importun'd *Cortes* to gain the Market Place and keep it, which they thought would soon put an end to the War. He, to avoid being thought positive, bid them consider well on it, for if they resolv'd upon it, they should find enough to do. *Aldrete* answer'd, they had consider'd it, and would rather run any hazard, than be always fighting to no Effect. *Cortes* resolving to comply with them, order'd *Sandoval* to repair to *Alvarado's* Quarters by the way of *Tacuba*, with ten Horse-men, one hundred Foot, fifteen Crossbows and Muskets, leaving ten Horse-men in Ambush at his own Quarters, to fall upon the Backs of the *Mexicans*, and the Brigantines to gain that ill Pass, where *Alvarado* had been defeated, to stop up that Gap, and to advance very cautiously, filling up all the Cuts they found in their way, and because they were to act but in one Place, and he in many, order'd them to send him eighty Men.

THE next Morning, *Cortes* order'd part of the Brigantines to head the three thousand Canoes close by the Causeway; the Treasurer *Aldrete*, with sixty *Spaniards*, twenty thousand *Indians*, and eight Horse-men, to gain the Street, *Andrew de Tapia*, with eighty *Spaniards*, ten thousand *Indians*, and eight Horse-men another, and himself, with one hundred *Spaniards*, eight Horse-men, and a great number of *Indians* enter'd a third Street, all three leading to the *Tlatelulco*, or great Market. As soon as in the Street, *Cortes* alighted from his Horse, took a Target, and attack'd a
Bridge

Bridge with a Trench behind it, which he gain'd, and three other Intrenchments. Then his *Indians* advanc'd, whilst he halted to support some *Spaniards* that were still engag'd, and to secure the Rear. *Aldrete* sent him word that he was near the Market, for he heard the Shouts of those that oppos'd *Sandoval* and *Alvarado*, and therefore would advance into the said Market. *Cortes* answer'd, that he should not advance any further without securing the Bridge, and Trenches behind him, for his safety in case of a Retreat. *Aldrete* reply'd, that they were well fill'd, and if he would be satisfy'd he might go see. Notwithstanding all this having gain'd a great Bridge, his Men thinking they had stopp'd it with Timber, Reeds, and Earth, and rushing forward with the Joy of their Success, without regarding whether all was safe behind, the *Mexicans*, who observ'd their neglect, charg'd again, and made them retire. *Cortes* came up, when they were flying, and all he said could not stop them. The *Indians* and *Spaniards* run upon the Bridge, which sunk under them. The *Mexicans* leap'd into the Water killing those that fell, whilst a Multitude of Canoes took such as would have escap'd, and carry'd them off. In this Confusion, *Cortes*, who had only fifteen *Spaniards* with him, was beset by a vast number of the Enemy coming over in Canoes, who pressing on, laid hold of him, crying, *Melinche, Melinche*, and would have actually carry'd him off, had not *Francis de Olea* his Servant, cut off the Hands of an *Indian*, who had hold of him, but so many of them came on, that they immediately killed *Olea*, before his Master, which was a glorious Death. The second that rescu'd *Cortes* was a *Tlascalan*, call'd *Tamaxauzin*, who bravely expos'd himself to the *Mexicans*, standing before *Cortes*. This Man was afterwards baptiz'd, and became a good Christian. *Antony de Quinones*, Captain of *Cortes's* Guard came next very opportunely, took him by the Arm, and

drew him out of the Throng, and the report being spread abroad, that he was taken, many *Spaniards* came in. One Horseman made a little room, but being wounded in the Throat was oblig'd to turn off. *Cortes* had a Horse brought him, but *Guzman*, his Chamberlain was kill'd as he held him. He then rally'd his Men, made his Way to the Street of *Tlapocan*, which is wider, though with much Difficulty, by Reason of the Narrowness of a little Causeway there was between them, where the Men hinder'd one another, and two Mares fell into the Water, one of which was kill'd, and the other sav'd. At this time *Aldrete* attacking a Trench, three Heads of *Spaniards* were thrown down to him out of a Window, telling him they would do so by all the rest, unless they rais'd the Siege, whereupon he retir'd with much Difficulty. *Alvarado* and *Sandoval* were then engag'd on the North Side in a Street that leads from *Tacuba* to the *Tlatelulco*, or great Market, and being much molested by the Canoes, they pass'd one of the Brigantines over a Breach in the Causeway, that was almost fill'd up, the Multitude of their Confederate *Indians* performing that Service. They fought on almost to the Market successfully, without losing any one *Spaniard*. There they halted, till they saw two of their Men sacrific'd, and two Horsemen came from *Cortes* with Advice of his Misfortune, to the End that they might retire. The Confederate *Indians* understanding the same, abandon'd the Brigantine, which they should have pass'd over again, and the *Mexicans*, when *Cortes* and the rest were retir'd all fell upon *Alvarado* and *Sandoval*, who had no other Remedy than for the latter of them to ply with the Horsemen between the City, and the Brigantine to amuse the Enemy, as he did till Night, when the *Spaniards* alone dragg'd the Brigantine back again. The other two Brigantines kept together that Day, and penetrated as far as the Temple, where the Monastery

tery of *St. Francis* now is, whence they return'd at Night with the utmost Difficulty, being ply'd on all Sides, and in very great Danger of perishing. When all were retir'd, *Cortes* return'd to his Quarters very disconsolate, looking upon it as a Judgment of God that they had not gain'd the Market, when they were so near it. Five and thirty or forty *Spaniards* were lost that Day, either kill'd or taken, and one thousand Confederate *Indians*, with one Cannon. The *Mexican* Priests for Joy of this Victory made Fires on the Towers of the Temple, and burnt much Gum Anime, sacrificing both the dead and living *Spaniards* they had, in Sight of the others, or at least in their hearing. *Cortes* was wounded in one of his Legs, thirty more *Spaniards* were also hurt, and four Horses, and several Boats perish'd. *Christopher Flores*, Commander of one of the Brigantines, dy'd within eight Days of the Wounds he had receiv'd. The *Mexicans* continu'd their Rejoycings all the Night, Singing, Dancing, playing on their noisy Musick, making Bonfires, returning Thanks to their Gods, and clearing their Streets as they were before.

C H A P. V.

Some Provinces revolt ; notable Accidents ; Provisions sent for from Tlascala ; Bravery of Women ; several Attacks ; Cortes resolves to destroy the City ; bad Condition the Mexicans were in ; that City taken.

WHEN their Rejoycing was 'over, the *Mexicans* sent the Heads of two Horses, and those of several *Spaniards* they had kill'd, as Testimonies of their Victory, to all the neighbouring Provinces to perswade

perswade them to revolt from *Cortes*, as some of them did. He, on the other Hand, to abate their Arrogancy, had daily Skirmishes with them, and being inform'd, that the People of *Malivalco* made War on those of *Coanabac* for adhering to him, he sent *Andrew de Tapia*, with ten Horse and eighty Foot to support the latter, which *Tapia* effectually perform'd, routing their Enemies in open Field, and returning to his General without any Loss. The *Otomies* likewise complaining that they were molested by the *Matalzingans*, on the same Account, *Sandoval* march'd thither, they fled, he burnt their Town, and by the Interposition of a neighbouring Lord concluded a Peace with them, and those of *Malinalco*, both which Places did good Service afterwards, and furnish'd Provisions, which was very grievous to the *Mexicans*, who expected Aid from thence. The same Day that *Sandoval* return'd from this Expedition, the *Mexicans* offer'd Peace, provided that the *Spaniards* would depart the Country, which being so remote from their Design, the Treaty was soon at an end.

Chichimecatl, one of the prime *Tlascalans*, designing to gain Honour, and observing that the *Spaniards* had not acted vigorously since their Defeat, told his Countrymen, he was very desirous that the *Spaniards* should see how they could behave themselves without them. They agreed, he drew them up, leaving six hundred Archers in the Rear, for a Body of Reserve, gain'd two Bridges, advanc'd into the City, and when he thought proper, retir'd without any Loss, much applauded by the *Spaniards*, who stood ready to have reliev'd him in case of Need. The *Mexicans* observing, that the *Spaniards* did not attack them as fiercely as they had been wont to do, and conceiving that it proceeded either from their being daunted, or in want, or disabled, assaulted *Alvarado's* Quarters, at Break of Day, but met with such a Reception, that they went
off

off faster than they came. They next made an Attempt, with a Multitude of Canoes, upon the Brigantines, which though much distress'd were so bravely defended by *Martin Lopez*, who was chief Pilot, that the Enemy was repuls'd with great Loss. *Lopez* in that Action wounding eight of his own Men, and throwing two over-board, because they behav'd themselves cowardly. He also, with his own Hand kill'd the *Mexican* General, and took his Plume of Feathers, and Gold Target, besides other Men of Note, being himself a Man of invincible Courage, and great Strength. *Cortes* publickly paid him much Honour, made him Captain of the Admiral Vessel, and order'd the Brigantines for the future to keep four and four together. *Peter Barba*, Captain of a Brigantine, fighting manfully, was this Day kill'd with a Stone from the Top of an House.

PROVISIONS growing scarce, *Cortes* sent *Alonso de Ojeda* and *John Marquez* for Supplies to *Tlascala*. They set out from *Alvarado's* Quarters about Midnight, with only twenty *Indians*, taking a great Compass round the Lake, there being no other way, and between *Tepeaquilla* and *Sandoval's* Quarters heard a great Noise of People, soon after which they perceiv'd that above four thousand Men came down from the Mountain, laden with Arms and Provisions, who were receiv'd by three thousand Canoes. They lay hid, expecting Death every Moment, those that brought, and the others that receiv'd the Provisions being above one hundred thousand Men, who being intent upon their own Business, did not observe them. They got to *Sandoval's* Quarters, who admir'd their Escape, and order'd Horsemen to scour about that part for the future. *Ojeda* and *Marquez* going thence, arriv'd the 3d Day at *Tlascala*, where they were furnish'd with fifteen thousand Loads of *Indian* Wheat, one thousand of Fowls, and three hundred of dry'd Venison; and had
all

all *Xicotencatl's* Goods deliver'd to them, the same being forfeited to the King, and consisting of a good Quantity of Gold, Plumes of Feathers, and much fine Cloathing, besides thirty Women, which were his Daughters, Nieces, and Servants, all which was convey'd to *Tezcucuo* and *Cuyoacan*, under a good Guard. No Day pass'd without some Skirmish or Engagement, in which many *Spaniards*, and many more of their Confederate *Indians* were wounded, and there were no Medicines nor Surgeons to cure them, in which Distress it is positively asserted by all that were present, that a *Spanish* Woman, whose Name was *Catherine Rodriguez*, bound up their Wounds and blessed them, saying, *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one only true God, may you be cur'd and heal'd*, which she never did above once or twice, and they were well. *Beatrix de Palacios*, a *Mulatta* Woman, Wife to *Peter de Escobar*, a Soldier, was so brave and manly, that when he was tir'd with Fighting and doing Duty, she would mount Guard and stand Sentinel, as well as any Man, at other Times fetch'd Provisions, and dress'd it for him and his Comrades, dress'd the wounded, look'd to the Horses, and did every Thing else that was necessary. She and some others, when *Cortes* was drove out of *Mexico*, dress'd him, and the rest of the wounded Men at *Tlascalala*, and being advis'd to stay there at their Ease, when he return'd to the Siege, said, It did not become *Spanish* Women to forsake their Husbands, when they were going to the Wars, but that they would dye with them.

THE Siege was now press'd on, and *Quautimoc's* House gain'd, part whereof was thrown down; the *Spaniards* advanc'd as far as the Court of the great Temple, and the *Indians* made boarded Stands on the Water, which they defended for some Days. At the same Time that the aforesaid Palace was gain'd, a graceful

ful lusty *Indian*, clad in Green, with a green Plume of Feathers at his Back, that stood up a Yard above his Head, adorn'd with Gold, got upon the flat Roof of an House, having a Target, and a *Spanish* Sword, which he brandish'd in most furious manner, and cry'd out, as the Interpreters said, Does any one of you Christian Dogs dare to Fight me Hand to Hand; if any one does, let him come, here I stand, and with this Sword will kill you all one after another. Many would have gone, but *Ferdinand de Osma* got the start of them, receiv'd such a Cut of the Sword, that it clove his Target, and at the same Time made a home Pass and run the *Indian* through the Body, who immediately dy'd. *Osma* took his Sword and Plume, other *Indians* fell upon him, and he must have been lost had not Relief been sent him. However he brought away his Trophies, and offer'd them to *Cortes*, who took, and then restor'd them to him, saying, No Man was more worthy of them than himself, and ever after did him much Honour.

THE more the *Mexicans* were streightned, the more obstinate and inrag'd they grew, in so much that all the old Women swept the Dust and Dirt off the Tops of the Houses on the *Spaniards* to blind them, and the Boys threw Stones and Darts railing at them, as they heard their Fathers. Those People took particular Notice of *Roderick de Castaneda*, who was one of those that best learnt the *Mexican* Language, much resembled *Xicotencatl* in his lofty Mein, and wore a topping Plume of Feathers, like the *Indians*. They gave him much ill Language, calling him *Xicotencatl Cuycone*. He laugh'd at it, jested, and by that means render'd them secure, then frequently levell'd his Cross-bow, without ever missing his Shot, and so kill'd many, till they knew him, and got out of his way, calling him Knave and Jester, that kill'd them with his Tricks, and not in a brave manner, without any Arti-

fice. The lame and disabled fitted Stones for the Slings, so that all sorts of Persons contributed towards their Defence. They had a great Esteem for *Christopher de Olid*, as a brave Man, and calling him by his Name, ask'd, Whether he would eat? He answer'd, He would. A *Mexican* came down with Cakes, and Cherries, to signify that they did not want Provisions. He gave them to a Servant, making a Jest of the Present, sat down, where he thought they could not hurt him, made show as if he had eaten of what they sent, and then rising show'd them his Back-side, at which they were so much offended, that they cast Showers of Stones and Darts. The Fight was renew'd, and the *Mexicans* cover'd many Cuts of Water with Sticks and Straw, for the *Spaniards* to fall into them. The Ensign *Christophor de Corral* advancing with his Colours in his Hand, fell in, they advanc'd upon him, and he with his Dagger kill'd many; then gave a Leap back upon the Causeway, and warn'd the rest not to pass, the *Mexicans* admiring at it, and declaring, they would rather have taken the Colours than him, thinking that because they dismay'd when they lost their Standard, the *Spaniards* would do the same. The *Spaniards* had press'd forward so eagerly among the Enemy, that prodigious Numbers of them charging down several Streets, they were mix'd, and began to fly in that Confusion. *Beatriz Bermudez de Velazco*, Wife to *Francis de Olmos*, putting on an *Escupil*, or Cotton Armour, with an Helmet, a Sword and a Target, ran out upon the Causeway, crying, *For Shame, for Shame Spaniards, turn upon those base People, or if you will not, I will kill every Man that attempts to pass this way.* This put them so much out of Countenance, that they rally'd, fought desperately, and came off victorious. *Cortes* seeing the Siege grow tedious, with the Advice of all his Commanders, resolv'd to attack the City several Ways, hoping to break in some

The HISTORY of America. 171

one of them, and put an End to the War. An Attempt was made, and much Blood shed, but still they were oblig'd to retire.

THE next Day *Cortes* divided his Forces into two Parts, he commanded one Attack himself, with *Olid*, *Sandoval*, &c. *Alvarado* led the other. They fell on, the City rung with the Cries, the *Indians* maintain'd the Fight, as if they had then began, the *Spaniards* valu'd no Dangers to conclude the War; many notable Actions were perform'd this Day. Had not *Olid* and *Gamboa* rescu'd *Cortes*, who had rush'd in violently among the Enemy, the *Indians* had carry'd him off, above an hundred of them having enclos'd him. *Alonso Nortes*, a Soldier belonging to a Brigantine being then ashore, defended him a long Time, till the Confederate *Indians* came in to his Assistance, and many told him, that since he knew what the Consequences must be if he were lost, he ought not to expose himself in that manner. The said *Nortes* having then receiv'd seven Wounds, and one of them mortal, went to relieve another, and dropp'd into the Water, and being a great Swimmer, made his Escape from abundance of Canoes by diving. *Andrew Nunez*, another Soldier, with his Brigantine, reliev'd two others that were in Danger, and sav'd the Lives of some *Spaniards*, and when the Captain of the Brigantine, who had been ashore return'd, he would not receive him, alledging, that he had forfeited his Right to the Command by not being in the Danger; that he having sav'd the Brigantine, was Captain. *Cortes* being inform'd of it said he was in the Right; and though Intercession was made to restore the Captain, would not do it, declaring he was oblig'd to do Justice to all Men. The same *Andrew Nunez* in another Engagement with his Brigantine defeated above three thousand *Indians*, and contributed much towards the speedy taking of the City. *Montano*, Ensign to *Alvarado*,

172 The HISTORY of America.

went up into a very high Tower, with his Colours, and gain'd it, killing many *Indians*.

AFTER so many fruitless Attacks, *Cortes* resolv'd still as he advanc'd, to throw down all the Houses, that he might receive no farther Damage from them, and with their Ruins to fill up all the Trenches and Cuts that cross'd the Streets and Causeways, and accordingly had Labourers sent him from all the confederate Cities, who work'd whilst the Soldiers fought, and made up all those Water Passages so fast, that the *Mexicans* could never after clear them. Thus he began to advance into the City with one hundred and fifty thousand Men, besides those in the Brigantines, and the Pioneers, and by this Method the Siege began to seem to draw towards an end. The same Day that this work began to be carry'd on, a gigantick *Indian*, with a *Spanish* Sword and Buckler, and very gay, with his great Plumes of Feathers came forward, and by the Interpreter desir'd *Cortes* to send some *Spaniard* to fight him, because it would be a Satisfaction to him, if it so hapned, to be kill'd by a brave Man, and if he came off victorious, he should gain Honour. *Cortes* bid him call ten more to his Assistance, and he who would send one *Spaniard* to fight them all. The *Indian* reply'd, he had as much Courage as any Man, and would fight alone. *Cortes* then rejoyn'd, since you will not call any more, that you may see what our *Spanish* Boys are, this beardless Page of mine shall kill you. The Page, whose Name was *John Nunez de Mercado* went, and though the *Mexican* was bold and daring, he soon kill'd him with a Thrust, to the great Vexation of all the Enemy *Indians*, and *John Nunez* was afterwards much honour'd by his Master. The next day the Forces advanc'd, levelling all as they went, and fought desperately at the same time, *Cortes* giving his orders from off a Tower. This Method was continu'd for six Days, the Confederate

Indians

The HISTORY of *America*. 173

Indians always retiring first, and the *Spaniards* making good their Rear, the Horsemen lying conceal'd to fall upon those that pursu'd. The last of those Days two Horses were wounded, the *Spaniards* generally fighting along the Causeways, and the Confederate *Indians* on the Terrasses, behaving themselves so bravely that the *Mexicans* were now much dismay'd.

ANOTHER Day after *Cortes*, having forty Horse about him, sent ten of them to engage with the Foot, and assist those that threw down the Houses, giving them Notice, that when they were to retire, he would come in with the rest. About One in the Afternoon, having plac'd his Horse in Ambush, he went up to the Tower, where he had been other Times, to deceive the Enemy, and when he thought it was Time, came down to his Horsemen, his other Forces then retiring. The ten Horsemen that had been in the Engagement, behav'd themselves so fearfully, to outward Appearance, that the *Mexicans* thinking they had gain'd the Day, press'd on furiously. Then *Cortes* with his thirty Horsemen, fell in upon their Rear, the Confederate *Indians* plying them at the same time, so that a great Slaughter was made, six hundred Men of Note being reckoned to be among the dead, *Cortes's* Allies carrying off many Legs, and Arms, which afforded them a good Supper. The *Spaniards* during this Action found in a Tomb to the Value of about fifteen hundred Pieces of Eight. When the *Spaniards* were retir'd, the *Mexicans* sent their Slaves to observe, whether they return'd to their Quarters; but the Horse took several of them, after which those People never durst show themselves near the Market. *John Rodriguez Bejarano*, this Day finding a likely sort of a Woman in an House, carry'd her to *Cortes*, who with good Usage, and fair Promises, prevail'd on her to give him an Account of the Posture of Affairs in *Mexico*, and the Designs of those People. Among other

174 *The HISTORY of America.*

other Things she said, they had been once for Surrendring, but that King *Quantimoc* and his Relations were for dying upon the Spot, so that the Men generally fought against their Will ; that they wanted Provision and Ammunition ; that they were at Variance among themselves ; and therefore, if he took Care to cut off all Supplies, and to streighten them, he would soon be master of the Place. At Night two *Mexicans* were taken, who being examin'd said, they had ventur'd out to seek for something to eat, being in extreme Want. Upon this Intelligence, *Cortes* order'd the Siege to be streightned, and his Parties going abroad at Break of Day, took above eight hundred wretched Women and Children, that were going to seek for Food. The Brigantines broke down many boarded Huts, where abundance of People were drown'd, and sunk a considerable Number of Canoes that were Fishing, the *Mexicans* in that Consternation not daring to appear. The next Day again *Cortes* advanc'd in good Order, an infinite Multitude of *Indians* resorting to him from all Parts. They repair'd all the bad Ways in the Street of *Tacuba*, stopping up Cuts, and gaining Bridges, so that there was a Communication with *Alvarado*. The Day after that, being the Feast of St. *James* the Apostle, that is the 25th of *July*, this Year 1521, they went on to the Market, gaining a very wide watery Street, and filling it up with Earth to the great Astonishment of the *Mexicans*, who thought they could never have pass'd that place, and dy'd in a Rage to see their Water become dry Land, and their most stately Buildings destroy'd, whilst the others that surviv'd cry'd to the *Indians* in the *Spanish* Service, Do, burn and destroy the Houses, and if we conquer we will make you Re-build them ; or if the Christians succeed you shall do it for them. The 26th another Attack was made, the Water-Street was found as it had been left, and proceeding to an
Idol

Idol Tower, the Heads of some *Spaniards* that had been sacrific'd were found there, and known, the Enemies fighting with the same Resolution as they had done at first, till towards Night, when *Cortes* thought fit to retire. The 27th in the Morning, when *Cortes* was at Mass, before entring the City, he saw a Smoak in the Towers of the *Tlatelulco*, or great Market, in a greater Quantity than when the *Indians* us'd to Sacrifice, by which he judg'd, that *Alvarado* was got thither, and it was so, he having perswaded his Men to secure to themselves the Honour of gaining that Place, being the main Strength of the Enemy; and though they did all that was in the Power of Men, they could only gain those Towers, where *Alvarado* order'd those Smoaks to be made, to signify the same to *Cortes*, and discourage the *Mexicans*. *Cortes* then advanc'd filling up the Water Cuts, and levelling the Ways; yet he was charg'd so home, that he had enough to do to retire in good Order, being well seconded by *Alvarado*.

Cortes continuing his Incurfions into the City, the other Commanders doing so at the same time, on the 8th of *August*, having gain'd an Intrenchment; that was bravely defended, was there met by *Alvarado* with four Horsemen, to the great Joy of them all, having thus establish'd the Communication between the two Attacks. *Cortes* then went to see the Market, ordering none to come forward; he walk'd about there, found the Porticos empty, but the Houses were all full, none daring to stir out, because there were Horses in the Square. Going up to the Top of a Tower, he found Heads of *Spaniards* and *Tlascalians* plac'd before the Idols, and perceiv'd that seven Parts in eight of the City were gain'd, whereupon considering the Distress of the Besieged, he forbore carrying on the Attack, and sent to offer *Quautimoc* Peace, who answer'd, That he and his were resolv'd to dye with their

their Relations; not valuing Life without Liberty; and that as for *Moteczuma's* Treasures, when they could keep them no longer, they should be thrown into the Water. *Cortes* now wanting Powder, order'd an Engine to be made to cast Stones; but for want of Skill, it did more harm than good. Making another Attack, the Streets were found full of useleſs People, that were ſtarving with Hunger, he commanded the Confederate *Indians* not to hurt them. The *Mexicans* came not out to Fight, but ſtood on their Terraces, cover'd with their Mantles. The *Tlaſcallans* cry'd to them, Surrender, or you ſhall dye miſerably. They answer'd, We will either dye or conquer. After being requir'd to accept of Terms, they deſir'd no Harm might be done to the poor People that went out to get Food, and they would treat of Peace; but it was all falſe, for they preſently fell on. *Cortes* commanded *Alvarado* to aſſault a great Ward of above one thouſand Houſes, and march'd himſelf a-foot another Way which was unfit for Horſes. The Fight was as deſperate as ever, the *Mexicans* ruſhing upon the Swords, ſo that there was an immense Slaughter. *Alvarado* gain'd all his Ward, and *Cortes* ſtreightned the Enemy very much, of whom twelve thouſand were computed to be kill'd and taken that Day, the Confederate *Indians* being ſo cruel, that they gave no Quarter, whatſoever the *Spaniards* could ſay to them. The next Day *Cortes* return'd with all his Forces, but forbore Fighting, hearing the Cries of the deſpairing People, who having no room to tread but on the Bodies of their People, and being preſs'd by thoſe who had been their Subjects, begg'd for Death. *Cortes* endeavour'd to comfort them with very good Words, and ſent a Nobleman he had taken four Days before, to induce them to admit of Peace. As ſoon as he began to mention it, King *Quantimoc* order'd him to be ſacrific'd, and at the ſame Time the *Mexicans* fell upon

upon the *Spaniards* in most furious manner. The following Day *Cortes* again, very earnestly courted them to submit, and not suffer themselves to be slaughter'd like Beasts. They answer'd, They were sensible of their Folly, and would go speak to *Quantomoc*, then returning said, he would go the next Day to treat with him in the Market Place. He believing them, caus'd a Scaffold to be erected there to receive him, and an Entertainment to be provided. *Cortes* that Day accordingly went to the Place, whither five Men of Quality came and told him, that *Quantomoc* could not come for Shame, besides that he was indispos'd, and had therefore sent them to know his Will. Though *Cortes* was sensible of the Trick put upon him, he order'd those Men to sit down, and Meat to be brought, of which they sufficiently shew'd they stood in need. Then bid them go back and assure their King that he might come in Safety, and should be honourably treated, because nothing could be concluded without him. Two Days were spent upon those Messages without any Effect, whereupon the Attacks were renew'd. The *Tlascallans*, and other *Indian* Confederates behav'd themselves with the utmost Bravery, but it was mix'd with Cruelty, so that the *Spaniards* had more to do to curb them than to fight, for *Cortes* having sent *Sandoval* with the Brigantines to shut up the *Mexicans*, all Places were flowing with Blood, and nothing was to be heard but the doleful Cries of Women, and Children. It was computed that forty thousand *Mexicans* dy'd that Day, whereupon *Cortes* resolv'd to retire; but return'd the next Day, with three Pieces of Cannon, ordering *Alvarado* to expect him in the Market Place, whilst *Sandoval* with the Brigantines and Canoes secur'd the Water, enjoining all his Men to take special Care that *Quantomoc* did not escape. Then going up to the Top of an House, he from thence spoke to some *Mexican* Men

of Quality, representing to them how inhuman it was to seek their own Destruction, and perswading them to advise *Quantimoc* to submit, and he should be treated like a King. They went, and return'd with *Gua-coacin*, that King's chief Counsellor, who told him, That *Quantimoc* was resolv'd rather to dye than appear before him, and therefore he might do his Will. During five Hours these Conferences and Messages lasted, a Multitude of Women and Children was seen making away, who crowding one upon another dropp'd into the Water, and were drowned, the Water Trenches, the Causeways and the Houses being all full of dead Bodies, the Stench whereof was intolerable, and yet those People did all they could to conceal their Dead, so that afterwards vast Numbers of them were found, insomuch that they could scarce move without treading upon them.

AFTER Noon, those miserable People persisting in their Obstinacy, the Signal was given, when the Land Forces, and the Brigantines at the same Time gave the Assault, an incredible Slaughter was made of all sorts, besides many thrown into the Water, and others that Surrender'd without fighting. Thus that last Quarter was gain'd. The Brigantines furiously enter'd the Pool, where the Fleet of Canoes lay, all in disorder, and the Men aboard it quite dispirited, not knowing how to make use of their Weapons, though all the chief Quality was there, the common sort being on the Terrasses, leaning against the Walls, astonish'd at their Destruction. *Garcia Holguin*, Captain of one of the Brigantines, prov'd very fortunate, for observing, that there were some more remarkable Persons in one Canoe, than in any of the rest, and that the same fled with all its Might, he gave Chace, ordering three Cross-bow Men to present upon it. Those aboard it, when they saw the Disadvantage, made Signs for them not to shoot, because the King was there. Captain

Holguin

Holguin leap into it, and other *Spaniards* after him, took King *Quantimoc*, *Guacozin* Lord of *Tacuba*, and other Noblemen, and carry'd them over to the Brigantine, treating the King very courteously, and with much joy carry'd them away to the Terrass, where *Cortes* then was, who receiv'd that Prince in respectful manner, and made him sit down by his Side. *Quantimoc* then very gravely said, " He had done all " he was able in Defence of his People, that if the " Gods had not savour'd him, it was none of his " Fault; that he was his Prisoner, and he might dispose " of him as he pleas'd." Then laying his Hand on *Cortes's* Dagger, he added, " He might kill him, and " he would go to his Gods with much Satisfaction, " dying by the Hand of so brave a Commander." *Cortes* answer'd, " That Fortune had so order'd it, " that he would pay him as much Respect as if he " had been Victorious, and therefore desir'd him to " cheer up, for he had rather have him alive than " dead." Then he intreated him to command his Men to surrender, to avoid the Effusion of so much Blood, which he was averse to. *Quantimoc* did so, and they all submitted in a Moment, being about thirty thousand, but so spent that they could make little Use of their Weapons. Thus ended the War, and the great *Mexican* Empire, on *Tuesday* the 13th of *August*, being the Feast of *St. Hippolitus*, in Commemoration whereof there is Yearly on that Day a solemn Thanksgiving, and a Procession, in which the Standard of the Army is carry'd. The Siege lasted three Months from the first, but only eighty Days close about the City, during which Time there were sixty hot Engagements. *Cortes* had there two hundred thousand Confederate *Indians*, nine hundred *Spanish* Foot, eighty Horse, seventeen Pieces of small Cannon, thirteen Brigantines, and six thousand Canoes. There were slain above fifty *Spaniards*, six Horses, and no

great Number of Confederate *Indians* ; and of the *Mexicans* one hundred thousand, though some say more, among whom many of the Nobility ; besides those that dy'd of Famine and Plague, for they had little to eat and drank but salt Water, lay among the Dead, and were in a continual Stench, which occasion'd the Pestilence that carry'd off very many, whilst they persisted in their Obstinacy, eating the very Barks of Trees. They kept the Dead in the Houses, that the Enemy might not see them, and did not eat them because it was not their Custom to feed upon one another. The Women attended the Sick, dress'd the Wounded, made Slings, fitted Stones for them, and cast them from the Tops of the Houses. When the City was plunder'd, the *Spaniards* took the Gold, Silver, and Feather Works, and the *Indians* had the Cloathing, and other Booty, being of an immense Value. *Cortes* order'd great Fires to be made in the Streets for Joy, and to purge the Air, because of the Stench, as also to be upon Guard all Night, and to bury the Dead. He caus'd some Men and Women to be branded, and all the rest to be set at Liberty ; the Brigantines to be drawn upon Land, and appointed Captain *John Rodriguez de Villafuerte*, with eighty *Spaniards*, to guard them and the City. Four Days after, having return'd Thanks to God, for his great Conquest, designing to settle the Affairs of Religion as became a true Son of the Church, he march'd away the Army to *Cuyoacan*, a League and a half from *Mexico*, at the end of the Causeway, on the Continent, where he also gave Thanks to the Confederates that had assisted him, and dismiss'd them, promising to gratify and maintain them in Justice, and Liberty, and to call them if any War hapned. Thus they went away rich and well pleas'd at the Destruction of *Mexico*, especially the *Tlascallans*, to whose Commanders, and others that had signaliz'd themselves, he gave Targets, Arms,

Arms, curious Garments, and other Things of the Booty, with which they were well pleas'd and desirous to serve him. He also set many great Men that were Pri'oners at Liberty, and granted Leave for such *Indians* as should think fit to settle at *Mexico*.

HAVING seen the wonderful Conquest of the City of *Mexico*, before we proceed to the other extraordinary Actions of *Cortes*, and Particulars relating to those Nations, we will briefly mention what hapned this Year 1521, in the Province of *Cumana*, on the Coast of *South America*. F. *Bartholomew de las Casas*, whom we before left in *Hispaniola* soliciting the Execution of the Orders he had brought from the Court of *Spain*, met with much Opposition by reason his Project was like to prove disadvantageous to those who regarded nothing but their own Interest in trading for Gold, and making Slaves of the *Indians* along the Coast of *Cumana*, where he was to make a peaceable and religious Settlement. At length, he threatening to complain to the King of their Disobedience, the Council of the Island enter'd into Partnership with him, and agreed he should have the Ships sent into that Province under *Gonzalo de Ocampo*, with one hundred and twenty Men in pay. Accordingly he arriv'd on the Coast of *Cumana* at the new Colony call'd *Toledo*, founded there by the said *de Ocampo*, where he found those *Spaniards* very uneasy, because the Natives were all fled up the Country, and therefore most of those new Planters went away to *Hispaniola*, leaving F. *Casas* there, with only a very few that thought fit to stay. There was a Monastery of *Franciscans*, under F. *John Garceto*, who had a very good Orchard, on the Bank of the River *Cumana*, and there F. *Casas* built a Warehouse for his Goods and Provisions. He signify'd to the *Indians*, that he was come by Order of the new King of *Spain* to settle, to trade, and to take care that they should not be mis-us'd.

us'd. The *Spaniards* that were in the Island of *Cubagua* did all they could to obstruct his Settlement, because it was against their Interest, and he not being able to curb them, went away to *Hispaniola* for fresh Powers. As soon as he was gone, most of those Men he had left there, contrary to his express Orders, went away to Trade along the Coast. The *Indians* laying hold of this Opportunity, attack'd the Monastery, and burnt it, the Friers and others that were in it, with much Difficulty making their Escape to the Salt Pits, down the River, where some Ships were lading, which receiv'd them aboard, so that only three Men and a Lay-Brother were kill'd. That small Colony being thus destroy'd, the *Spaniards* at *Cubagua*, who had been the Occasion of it, fearing the *Indians* would come over to them, abandon'd that Island, and went away to *Hispaniola*, leaving all they had behind them. Thus their Covetousness prov'd their Ruin. F. Casas, after a most tedious Voyage, landed in *Hispaniola*, and made his Way to the City of *Santo Domingo*, where he became a *Dominican* Frier, and this is the true Account of him, who was afterwards Bishop of *Chiapa*, of whom *Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo* and *Francis de Gomara* have not given so just a Relation as they ought to have done, which the said Bishop sometimes resent'd. The Council at *Hispaniola* sent four or five Ships, with some Men, who again settled the Colony at *Cubagua*, and built a Fort on the River *Cumana*, where they executed several of the *Indians* that had burnt the Monastery, and call'd their Fortrefs *New Cadiz*, which subsisted as long as the Pearl Fishery, but when that declin'd, it was abandon'd.

The End of the Ninth Book.

T H E



THE
General HISTORY
Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of
A M E R I C A, &c.

D E C A D. II. B O O K X.

C H A P. I.

Search after Motezuma's Treasures ; Prodigies before the Downfal of the Mexican Empire ; of the antient Inhabitants of New Spain ; the first Foundation of the City of Mexico.



THE Spanairds who had seen the immense Treasures of *Motezuma*, expected to have found them when the City was taken, and finding nothing, nor any *Indian* making the least Discovery, it was thought fit to enquire into that Affair, as well for the Value of the Thing itself, as for the Satisfaction of the Soldiers, who made several rash Judgments, some saying, That *Cortes* had taken all
that

that Wealth to himself and hid it ; and others, that the King's Officers, conniv'd at it, through Avarice ; and many there were who threatned to write to the King, and complain, that after such great Dangers and Fatigues they were defrauded of their Reward. These Mutterings, and the apprehension lest they should produce some Mutiny, that might occasion the losing all that had been gain'd, mov'd *Cortes* to consider on some Means to satisfy his Soldiers ; besides that on the other Hand he was press'd by the King's Officers, who thinking they did the King good Service, too boldly importun'd him to enquire into that Affair. At length, by the Advice of many it was resolv'd that *Quautimoc*, and a Gentleman of his Family should be put upon the Rack, tho' *Cortes* constantly oppos'd it, declaring, they ought not to provoke God, who had given them so great a Victory. The Gentleman dy'd on the Rack, without making any Discovery, either because he knew nothing, or for that the *Indians* were wont to keep the Secrets of their Sovereigns inviolably ; and when dying, he look'd earnestly upon *Quautimoc*, which occasion'd various Speculations, some judging he did it, that the other might pity him, and grant Leave to discover the Secret ; but he on the contrary reproach'd him, calling him a tender, mean spirited Man, and saying, he was not then himself at Ease. *Cortes* then with Authority, and Indignation order'd *Quautimoc* to be taken from the Rack, looking upon it as an Inhumanity to treat a King after that manner, and excus'd himself of what had been done, alledging, That *Julian de Aldrete*, the King's Treasurer, impudently requir'd him to consent to the racking of *Quautimoc*, charging him with having conceal'd the Treasure, the said *Aldrete* being a Servant to *John Rodriguez de Fonseca*, Bishop of *Burgos*, President of the Council of the *Indies*, whom *Cortes* look'd upon as his Enemy. In short, *Quautimoc* was taken from the Rack, much pity'd

piry'd by all the Soldiers, who had before condemn'd their Superiors for not enquiring after the Treasure. Some said that *Quantimoc* had, before the City was taken, declar'd he would throw all the Gold and Jewels he had into the Lake; but tho' the nicest Search was made for it in several Places, none could ever be found, and it was much admir'd that so great a Mass could be conceal'd. Some of the prime *Mexican* Prisoners gave Intimation of several Tombs where some small Quantity of Gold was found, which was carry'd away to be distributed.

It was positively asserted that there had been many Presages, and Predictions of the Overthrow of the *Mexican* Monarchy, of which Number it will not be improper to insert these few that follow. An Idol in *Chulula*, a City in Confederacy with *Motezuma* foretold, that a strange Nation would come and possess that Empire. A Lord of *Tezcucoc*, Nephew to the last *Motezuma*, told him, That very great Calamities were coming upon him and his Empire. The same was declar'd to him by many Sorcerers; one of them had neither Fingers, nor Toes; he order'd them to be secur'd, and they vanish'd out of the Prison, to his great Vexation. Hereupon he resolv'd to offer extraordinary Sacrifices to his Gods, directing a great Stone to be carry'd to the Temple for that Purpose, but all the Force of Men could not move it, and whilst they were labouring at it, a Voice was heard, which said, That the Lord of the Creation would not permit those Sacrifices any longer; and when they would have made them in the Place where the Stone was, another Voice said, I have already told you it is not the Creator's Will that it should be done, and that you may believe me, I will suffer my self to be mov'd awhile, after which you will not be able to stir me any more; and so it prov'd, and after many Prayers it was carry'd to the Entrance of *Mexico*, where it fell into a Cut of Wa-

rer, and tho' sought after could not be found, but only in the same Place from whence they had first remov'd it. At the same time there appear'd in the Sky a Pyramidal Flame of Fire, which ascended from Midnight till Sun-rising, when it came into the South, and then vanish'd; which continu'd many Days, and when it appear'd, the People gave great Cries, looking upon it as a Prefage of some notable Calamity, being always very superstitious that Way. A Comet was seen in broad Day, which ran from West to East, casting out Abundance of Sparks of Fire, had a long Tail, and as it were three Heads. The Lake of *Mexico* next to *Tezcuco*, began to bubble, without any visible Cause, swelling up, and many Structures that were on it fell down. At the same Time great Cries were heard, as it were of a Woman in Anguish, sometimes saying, O my Children, your Destruction is come; and then again, whither shall I carry you, that you may not quite perish. Several Monsters appear'd with two Heads, and being carry'd before the King vanish'd. The Fishermen on the Lake took a Bird as big as a Crane, the like whereof never having been seen there before; they carry'd it to the King, who was then in the Palace call'd of Mourning and Lamentation, being all Black, he having such a peculiar House for Times of Sorrow, and being then very melancholy on Account of these Prefages. The Fishermen came at Noon, shew'd him that Bird, which had something on its Head, where the King saw the Sky and Stars, and looking up towards Heaven, and seeing no Stars, he was astonish'd; then looking again, he saw Warriors in the Sky, fighting, and killing. He sent for the Priests, that had Skill in Prodigies, who saw the same on the Bird, but could not make any thing of it, when on a sudden it vanish'd, leaving them all in the greatest Confusion. To pass by many other Stories that were told, which seem'd to forebode the

The HISTORY of America. 187

the Destruction of the *Mexican* Empire, there were said to have been fiery Apparitions to the Eastward, which is the Way where *Vera Cruz* lies, and where the *Spaniards* landed, and particularly Numbers of arm'd Men fighting in the Air. Great Sighs and Groans were heard in *Mexico*, after Midnight, and when they got up to see from whom they came, no Body could be found.

TWELVE *Franciscan* Friars arriv'd at *Mexico* presently after that City was taken. *Cortes* receiv'd them with extraordinary respect, in which point he always gave a singular Example both to the *Spaniards* and Natives, the latter whereof much admir'd at the Humility of the Person whom they so much honour'd. The Custos, or Head of them was F. *Martin de Valencia de Don Juan*, who with his Companions labour'd very successfully in the Conversion of those Infidels, and perform'd the Divine Service with much Decency, the *Indians* being mightily pleas'd to hear and see the same, because some *Spaniards* understanding the Church Musick, that agreeable Song took very much with them. Three others were come before to *Tlascala*, and stay'd there, by reason that the War was then at the Height. They liv'd very retir'd, and religiously to the great Edification of the *Indians*, who charitably supply'd them with all Necessaries.

WE will now leave the *Spanish* Forces for a while, after their many Fatigues, to give some account of the first Peopling of that Country, their Kings, Religion, Government, &c. The first *Spaniards* that arriv'd in *New Spain* with *John de Grijalva*, gave it that Name, because since their coming from home, they had never before seen any thing like it, with respect to the Soil, the snowy Mountains, the Stone Structures, and many other Particulars. The antient Inhabitants of those Provinces were a wild People, who liv'd upon wild Fruit, and Roots, and the Game

they were very dextrous at killing, not living sociably in Towns, and therefore were call'd *Chichimecas*. They dwelt on the Mountains, and in the Woods, lay on the Ground, and went naked, without any sort of Civility. The Women follow'd their Husbands, leaving their Children, hanging in Baskets, made of the Boughs of Trees, till they return'd from hunting, their Bellies being first fill'd with Suck. They had no Knowledge of God, nor had any Religion, or Superior, and there are still of those People in *New Spain*, and have been mischievous enough, the difficulty of subduing them consisting in their having no certain Habitations. Those first Inhabitants of *New Spain*, not being us'd to sow or reap, left the best of their Land to other Strangers, who were more polite, and came from very remote Parts Northward, where *New Mexico* was afterwards found. Those People painted their Original in the manner of a Cave, and said, they came out of seven Caves to People the Country of *Mexico*. To preserve the Memory thereof, they painted seven Races, and said, that to come to the Place of the seven Caves, they cross'd an Arm of the Sea in Trunks of Trees, which it is likely were ill-shap'd Canoes, and according to their Computation, they had been eight hundred Years come from *Nauatlacan*, which according to our reckoning, was about the Year 820, and they spent eighty Years in coming to *Mexico*, their Gods, or Devils, who spoke to them in visible Shapes, perswading them, to look for such Lands as they describ'd to them, and thus they went on enquiring, and leaving some People behind them, and to this Day, there remains some Track of the Way they came, with Ruins of large Structures, and that was the reason of their spending so much Time on a Journey, that may be perform'd in a Month, and they came into the Territory of *Mexico*, in the Year of Grace, 902.

FROM

The HISTORY of America. 189

FROM the first of these seven Races came the *Suchimilcans*, signifying People that have Beds of Flowers, who settled on the Bank of the Lake of *Mexico*, to the Southward, where they built a Town of their own Name, and some others. The second Race were the *Cholchas*, which signify'd the People of the Mouths, and founded a Town of their own Name, next to the *Suchimilcans*. The third the *Tepeacans*, that is, the People of the Bridge, inhabited on the West Side of the Lake, and increas'd so much, that they call'd the Chief Place of their Province *Azcapotzalco*, importing, an Ant's Nest, and were very powerful. The fourth were the Inhabitants of *Tezcuc*, being those of *Culua*, signifying the bow'd People, because there was in their Country a ridge of an Hill very much bow'd, and thus the Lake was enclos'd by those four Nations. The People of *Tezcuc* were very polite, and courtly, and their Language is the best and most agreeable. After that came the *Tlatlencans*, that is, Mountain People, being the rudest, and finding the Plains taken up, went over the Mountain, where they found, low and fruitful Land, and call'd their chief Seat *Quahunahuac*, that is, the Place where the Voice of the Eagle sounds, which Province is now call'd the *Marquisate*. The *Tlascallans*, being the sixth Race, and signifying People of Corn, or Bread, went over the Mountain to the Eastward, crossing the snowy Hill, where the famous Eruption of Fire is, between *Mexico* and the City of the *Angels*. They rais'd great Structures, founded many Towns, and call'd the Head of their Province *Tlascallan*. These pay no Tribute to the King of *Spain*, but are exempt from all Impositions. When these Nations settled, the ancient *Chichimecas* made no Opposition, but rather were scar'd, and hid themselves in the Rocks; but those who dwelt beyond the snowy Mountains, defended their Land against the *Tlascallans*, and being
Giants,

190 *The HISTORY of America.*

Giants, as their Histories inform us, would have expell'd the Intruders ; but the *Tlascallans* made a false Peace with them, and having invited them to a great Entertainment, stole away their Arms, and kill'd them. As to their being Giants, there are Bones of a wonderful Magnitude found to this very Day. Thus the *Tlascallans*, and the other Races were left in quiet Possession, continuing in Friendship among themselves, and the *Chichimecas* that remain'd learnt some sort of Civility, covering their Bodies, building Cottages, settling some Form of Government, choosing Lords, owning Superiors, and in much Measure quitting their brutish sort of Life ; and therefore it is believ'd that all the Provinces in the *Indies* have proceeded from them, for the first Inhabitants were Savages.

THREE hundred and two Years after the six above-mention'd Races departed from their Country, and settled in *New Spain*, when they were much increas'd, came the seventh Race, being the *Mexican* Nation, a warlike and polite People, who adoring the God *Vitzilipuzli*, he commanded them to leave their own Country, promising them, that they should rule over the other Races in a plentiful Country, and much Wealth. They carry'd that Idol in a Case made of Rushes, on the Shoulders of four Priests, who taught the Rites and Sacrifices, and gave Laws, and nothing was done without their Approbation. When they halted, they erected an Altar, on which they plac'd the Case with the Idol, in the midst of the Army, and observ'd all he directed, as to Sowing, building of Towns, &c. for never any Devil was so conversant with Men as this, endeavouring in all Things to imitate the Children of *Israel's* coming out of *Egypt*, and their Travels. The Name of the Leader of this Race was *Mexi*, and from him came the Name of *Mexico*. Proceeding thus slowly like the other Nations, Sowing, building Towns, and escaping many Dangers,

Dangers, they arriv'd at the Province of *Mechoacan*, signifying, Country of Fish, by reason of the many fine Lakes there are in it, and liking the Soil, they were for staying in it, but their Idol not consenting, though he allow'd some People to be left there, they went on, and those that stay'd thinking they had been forsaken were always Enemies to the *Mexicans*. This Race departing from *Mechoacan*, complain'd to the Idol of a Woman they had among them, so great a Sorceress, that she would be ador'd as a Goddess. The Idol commanded one of the Priests that carry'd the Chest, or Case, to comfort the People, and leave behind that Woman and her Family. The Woman seeing her self abandon'd, founded a Town call'd *Malinalco*, and ever after the Inhabitants of that Place were look'd upon as great Sorcerers. The *Mexicans* being much decreas'd in their Numbers, halted at *Tulo*, that is, the Place of the *Tuna*, and the Idol order'd them to turn a great River into a large Plain, and by the Contrivance he taught them they enclos'd the Hill call'd *Coatepec* with Water, and made a spacious Lake, which they encompass'd with Trees, and the Fish breeding, and Fowl resorting thither, it became a delicious Place, for which reason they would have settled there, at which the Idol being incens'd, order'd the Priests to let the River take its former Course, and designing to chastise the disobedient, they at Midnight heard a Noise in one Part of their Camp, and in the Morning found those Dead that had propos'd staying there, their Breasts ripp'd open, and their Hearts taken out, which they said taught them ever after to Sacrifice in that manner. Being thus punish'd, and finding the Plain dry, the Lake being drain'd, by Direction of their God, they went on to *Capultepec*, a League and half from *Mexico*, and a pleasant delightful Place, where they fortify'd themselves. The other Nations being stirr'd up by the Descendants of the Sorceress

Sorcerers of *Malinalco*, would have drove them from thence by Force of Arms, but they behaving themselves bravely, proceeded to *Atlacuyabaca*, a Town of the *Culnas*, and there they again fortify'd themselves.

THEY ask'd some Place to settle of the Lord of *Culuacan*, who appointed them *Tazahapan*, which signifies White Waters, designing they should perish there, because of the many Vipers and Snakes the Soil bred ; they accepted of it, tam'd the Serpents, and fed on them. The Lord of *Culuacan* seeing they had made Improvements, admitted them into his City ; but their God would not permit them to go thither, and order'd to seek out a Woman that was to be call'd the Goddess of Discord, and to that Purpose they sent to ask of the King of *Culuacan* his Daughter, to be Queen of the *Mexicans*, and Mother of their God. He readily gave her, and the very Night she came, they kill'd and flaid her, and put her Skin on a Youth, with her Cloaths over it, placing him near the Idol, for their God's Mother ; and from that Time forward they ador'd her, afterwards making her the Idol they call'd *Tocci*, which signifies our Grandmother. They deceitfully invited the King, Farther to the young Woman, to adore her, because she was consecrated. He came with great Presents, and being put into the Chapel, though it was dark, the Fire-pan with the Perfumes being kindled, he knew his Daughter's Skin, and being sensible of the Cruelty, ran out crying aloud, and falling on the *Mexicans* with all his Men, in most furious manner, drove them to the Lake, where they were in Danger of drowning, but making the best Defence they recover'd the Land, and forsaking that Place, they went about the Lake, complaining of their God, till they came to a River that could not be forded, for which Reason they made Floats with their Targets, and Rushes, and so pass'd over to *Tatapalapan*, and thence to *Acatzimitlan*, next to *Tzacalco*,

calco, and lastly to the Place where now stands the Hermitage of St. *Antony*, at the Entrance into *Mexico*, and the Quarter now call'd St. *Paul's*, their Idol comforting them in their Distresses, with mighty Promises of Blessings.

CERTAIN old Sorcerers entering into a Place that was overgrown with Sedge, saw a considerable Stream of Water, that look'd like Silver, the Trees white, the Field white, and the Fish white, and then call'd to Mind a Prophecy of their God, who had given them that as a Token of their Place of Rest. They went away joyfully to their People, with this good News. The following Night *Vitziliputzli* appear'd to an old Priest, bidding him to seek out in that Lake for a *Tuna* Tree, that grew out of a Rock, where, when they kill'd a Son of the Sorcerers of *Malinalco* they threw his Heart, and that on the *Tuna* Tree they should see a beautiful Eagle feeding upon fine Birds, and there they were to found their City, which should prevail over all others. The Priest acquainted the People, which was so much to their Satisfaction, that they immediately went about it, seeking the Place so much desir'd by them. They found the white Water, but it then ran like Blood, and parting into two Streams, one of them a thick Blue, which astonish'd them; but at length continuing their Search, they found the *Tuna* Tree growing out of a Rock, and on it was an Eagle, with her Wings display'd, facing the Sun, having about her much Variety of fine Feathers of several Colours, and holding in her Talons a very beautiful Bird. They all knelt down, paying great Respect to the Eagle, and she, they say, bow'd her Head, looking very earnestly on them. They return'd many Thanks to their God, with notable Show of Devotion, and call'd the City they there founded *Tenuchtitlan*, signifying, a *Tuna* Tree on a Rock, as has been said before; and their Arms

to this Day are, an Eagle in a *Tuna* Tree, holding a Bird in one Claw, and resting on the Tree with the other. The next Day they went to erect a Place of Worship, for the Ark of their God was to rest there, which was made of Turf, and thatch'd. They bought of the neighbouring People, Stone, Timber, and Lime, in Exchange for Fish, Frogs, and several Sorts of Water Fowl, which they took in the Lake, that has Plenty of them, and having built another Chapel of Lime and Stone for the Idol, fill'd up a great Part of the Lake with Planks and Stone Work. When this was done, the Idol order'd a Priest to bid their chief Men divide themselves, with their Kindred and Followers, into four Wards, or Quarters, leaving that House that had been built for him to rest, in the Middle, and each Party to build as they lik'd best. These are the four Quarters of *Mexico*, now call'd of *St. John*, *St. Mary the Round*, *St. Paul*, and *St. Sebastian*. That Division being accordingly made, their Idol again directed them to distribute among themselves the Gods he should name, and each Ward to appoint peculiar Places where those Gods should be worshipp'd; and thus every Quarter had several smaller Wards in it, according to the Number of the Gods their Idol commanded them to adore, and they were call'd *Calpultulco*, that is, the God of the Ward. Thus *Mexico Tenuchtitlan* was founded, and very much increas'd, and this is the Original of the *Mexican* Nation, which though barbarous had some commendable Things, as all other barbarous Nations have had. After the founding of *Mexico*, and inhabiting the Country, other People arriv'd from the Northward, at *Pannaco*, wearing long Garments, open before, without Hoods, the Necks cut low, which were us'd by the Natives till latter Times in their Dances, in Imitation of those People, who push'd on without any Opposition, as far as

Tula,

Tulo, where they were well receiv'd, because they were very ingenious at any Art, and expert in improving Land, for which Reason they were belov'd by all Men; but not being able to subsist at *Tulo*, because the Country was too populous, they proceeded to *Chololan*, where they fixed, and from thence peopled *Gnaxaca*, the upper and lower *Misteca*, and the *Zepotecas*. They much civiliz'd the Inhabitants, and therefore when any Man prov'd wise and industrious, they call'd him a *Tulotecan*, because they began to teach at *Tulo*. And thus the *Tulotecs* are charitable, and now value themselves upon being good Christians; and when in any Trouble they make Vows to God, and are punctual in performing them.

CHAP. II.

Of the Mexican Kings, from the first of them till the last, that was Motezuma the Second.

WHEN the afore said Partition was made, those who thought themselves injur'd, with their Kindred and Friends, went away to seek out some other Place, and traversing about the Lake, found a Spot of Ground, call'd *Tlatelolli*, and there they settled, giving it the Name of *Tlatelulco*, that is, a Place fill'd up with Earth; and this was the third Division of the *Mexicans*, after their first travelling abroad. These Inhabitants of *Tlatelulco* were turbulent, and bad Neighbours to the *Mexicans*, and their Enmity lasted long; whereupon those of *Tenuchtitlan* perceiving that those of *Tlatelulco* increas'd, they thought fit to choose a King, that they might be the more united,

and less expos'd to be insulted by their Enemies; and to avoid Contention, they would not take one from among themselves, but strove to gain the King of *Culhuacan*, who was their Enemy, on account of their killing his Daughter; and that they might be supported by Friends, they made choice of a Youth call'd *Acamapixtli*, Son to a great *Mexican* Prince, by a Daughter of that King of *Culhuacan*, to whom they sent Embassadors to demand his Grandson. He approving of their Request, deliver'd him, giving him a noble Lady to Wife, as they desir'd. The new King and Queen were carry'd Home, had a solemn Reception, and an old Man made a Speech to instruct him in his Duty, declaring, that he came not to be idle, or take his Pleasure, but to undergo much Toil, and an heavy Burden, and then they all wish'd him welcome. The King return'd Thanks, promising to endeavour to defend them to the utmost of his Power. Then they took an Oath to, and put a Crown on his Head, which is like that of the Doge of *Venice*, and *Acamapixtli*, the Name of this first Monarch, signifies Reeds in the Fist, and accordingly his Device was an Hand holding many Darts made of Reeds. These, and other Particulars in the *Mexican* History, were learnt by Heart by the young Men, and they preserve them to this Day.

THIS Election prov'd very advantageous, for the *Mexicans* soon gain'd much Reputation among their Neighbours, whereupon Jealousy increasing, they began to think of subduing them, especially the *Tepeacans*, who resolv'd to keep them under, and to that Purpose sent Word to the King of *Mexico*, that the Tribute his People paid being too small, they should send Wood for their City, and sow several sorts of Grain in the Water, and carry Home the Product thereof to them. The *Mexicans* being sensible that this was only a Contrivance to pick a Quarrel, were much

much concern'd; but their God *Vitziliputzli* comforted them, ordering they should consent to the Tribute, and he would assist them. Accordingly, at the appointed Time, they carry'd the Wood, and the Crop of what had been sow'd in the Lake, and those who see what is sow'd there now will not look upon this as Inchantment, but very practicable, for they lay Earth upon Rushes, and Sedge, and there the Seed is sow'd, grows, ripens, and is carry'd from one place to another. The King of the *Tepanecans* was amaz'd at the Sight of the Tribute, and said, those People had a great God, for all Things were easy to them, and therefore he would have them the next Year send him with the Crop, an Heron, and a Goose, with their Eggs so ready to hatch, that they should do it as soon as they came into his Presence, and no otherwise. The Difficulty of complying with this Demand much griev'd the *Mexicans*, but their God again commanded them to comply, adding, that the Time should come when those Demands should cost the *Tepanecans* their Lives. The *Mexicans* carry'd the Heron, and Goose, and they hatch'd as soon as they came before the King, who said, those Things were above human Power, and that the *Mexicans* were likely to become Lords of all the Country. They continu'd fifty Years in that servile Condition, during which Time their King dy'd, after having much improv'd the City with Buildings, Water Cuts, and Stores of Provisions. He reign'd forty Years in Peace, and at his Death, though he had Legitimate Children, left the People to their Liberty, to Elect whom they pleas'd to govern, advising them to have regard to the publick Good. As soon as his Funeral Solemnity was over, they chose one of his Sons, whose Name was *Vitzilocutly*, which signifies, rich Feather, and an antient Man told him, that it was the Duty of a King to have Compassion on the Aged, Widows, and Orphans,

198 *The HISTORY of America.*

Orphans, and to be Father of the Publick, for they were to be the Feathers of his Wings, the Balls of his Eyes, and the Ornament of his Countenance; that he ought to be brave, since their God had foretold, that he should make use of his Arms. They crown'd and anointed him with an Ointment they call'd Divine, because they us'd it to their Idol. Then they made another Speech, encouraging him to rescue them from Troubles, and all did their Homage. He took to Wife, the Daughter of the King of *Azcapuzalco*, call'd *Ayanchigual*, the Marriage Ceremony being to tye one Point of the King's Cloak to one of her Veil. They had a Son, and being very superstitious in giving Names, after casting Lots he was call'd *Chimalpopoca*, signifying, a Target that smoaks. The King and Queen dy'd, when *Chimalpopoca* was but ten Years of Age, yet he was chosen to succeed his Father; and being plac'd on the Throne, he was acknowledg'd, but his Reign prov'd short, for the *Tepanecans* murder'd him one Night in his Palace.

THE *Mexicans* then chose *Yzcoatl*, Son to their first King *Acampul*, by a Slave, but brave, well behav'd Brother-in-Law to the King of *Texcoco*. After many needless Ceremonies, which are not to our Purpose, the *Tepanecans* declar'd War against the *Mexicans*, who entirely defeated them, under the Conduct of their General *Teacaleel*, enter'd their City, and drove them to a Mountain, where they threw down their Arms, and surrender'd, remaining ever after in Subjection and Poverty, for all the Lands and Booty were distributed among the *Mexican* Nobility, and some of the Commons who had behav'd themselves bravely, and the rest cast off as Cowards. *Tacuba* and *Cuyoacan*, Cities belonging to the Kingdom of the *Tepanecans*, continu'd the War, and after some Stratagems, both Armies engag'd, and the *Mexicans* obtain'd the Victory, through the Valour of their General

General *Tlacaleel*, and because three prime Men of *Culnacac* had signaliz'd themselves, they rewarded them with the best of the Booty, which Custom us'd by the *Mexicans* in War, made them act with the utmost Bravery. They also subdu'd the *Suchimilcans*, who were the first of those seven Races, that peopled the Country. The King of *Mexico* being own'd by those of *Suchimilco*, order'd them to make a Causeway between those two Cities, being four Leagues distance, to keep up the Communication between them, and the work was immediately begun. *Tlacaleel* likewise subdu'd *Cuiclavaca*, a City in the Lake, whereupon the King of *Texcuco*, own'd the Superiority of the *Mexican* Monarch, who thus lorded it over all the Cities of the Lake, and then *Yzcoatl* dy'd, when he had reign'd twelve Years.

THE fifth King was *Motezuma*, the first of the Name, and there being four Electors, to whom were join'd the Kings of *Texcuco* and *Tacuba*, *Tlacaleel* also was admitted, as General of the Army, whose Nephew this *Motezuma* was. He was conducted to the said Temple, seated on his Throne before the Divine Fire, which was always burning, where he sacrific'd, drawing Blood from his own Ears, the Brawn of his Arms, and Ankles, with sharp Bones of Tygers, and Deer. Several Speeches of Congratulation were made by the Priests, and Elders, there was much Dancing, Feasting, and Rejoycing, and Presents came from all Parts of the Kingdom. The King went in Person to the War against *Chalco*, which had declar'd against him, and brought home Prisoners to Sacrifice, which from that Time became an establish'd Custom, the new Kings, when they return'd from War, being conducted into the City in triumphant manner, all the Priests going from the Temples in Procession, burning sweet Gums before them, and playing on musical Instruments. The Courtiers and Laity also went out with

with all Demonstrations of Joy to receive them. This *Moctezuma* was very Martial, and conquer'd several Countries ; but the War of *Chalco* gave him most Employment, where they would have made a Brother of his, whom they had taken Prisoner, their King. He pretending, that before he could accept of it, he must speak to his Countrymen, order'd a little Scaffold to be erected, on a very high Piece of Timber, which he mounted, with a Nosegay in his Hand, and saying, God forbid he should ever be false to his Country, for the sake of being a King, and that they should learn of him to be Loyal, he cast himself down, and dy'd. The War was carry'd on, and *Chalco* subdu'd ; but it was not continu'd against *Tlascala* to Extremity, that the *Mexican* Youth might have an opportunity of exercising themselves in their Weapons, and there might be always Men to Sacrifice. This King made the Houses of the Gods more Magnificent, as also the Courts of Justice, and Government, appointing Councils and Judges of all sorts, as orderly as in any Country in *Europe*. He settled the Royal Court, with much State and Magnificence ; built the great Temple to their God *Vitziliputzli*, and sacrific'd abundance of Men taken in War at the Dedication of it. He dy'd after a Reign of twenty-eight Years.

THE sixth King was *Tezozic*, for *Tlacaleel* would not accept of it, being willing to take upon him the Care and Trouble of the publick Weal, without the Honour and Power, in return for which his Modesty, the Electors, entirely referr'd the Election to him, and he voted for a Son of the deceas'd King, being this *Tezozic*, and though he seem'd to be very unfit to undergo that Burden, *Tlacaleel* said, he would supply that Defect. They bor'd his Nose, and set an Emerald into it. He prov'd little inclin'd to War, and cowardly, and going in Order to his Coronation to subdue a Province that was revolted, lost more of his

his own Men than he took of the Enemy. However, he made a great Show, yet liv'd only four Years, being poison'd by the *Mexicans*, who could not bear with a mean-spirited King, which shows the Haughtiness of those People, and how ambitious they were of being govern'd by brave Monarchs.

THE seventh King call'd *Axacaya*, being another Son of the first *Moteczuma*, was chosen in the same manner as the former, by the Vote of *Tlacaleel*, who was then very old; and the new King, to please him, appointed his eldest Son Captain-General, which made him dye contented. The King then took the Field, to make Prisoners for his Coronation, march'd to the Province of *Tecoantepec*, where he fought a numerous Army of that Nation, and another that had join'd them, obtain'd a signal Victory, and pursu'd it as far as the Port of *Guatulco*, on the South Sea. Returning to *Mexico* in Triumph, he was Crown'd, offer'd abundance of human Sacrifices, and receiv'd rich Presents. The Kings of *Tezcucuo* had the Prerogative of Crowning those of *Mexico*. This King prov'd very brave, was almost among the foremost in Battle, and subdu'd *Tlarelulco*, which, as has been said, had been founded by those that departed from *Mexico*, and because they had disguis'd themselves in the Lake in the Shapes of Crows, Geese, Birds, Frogs, and other Insects, the King of *Mexico* having fought Hand to Hand with their King, when they were vanquish'd, would not forgive them, unless every one imitated the cry of the Creature whose Figure he had assum'd, which, to their great Shame, they were forc'd to do, and to this Day the People of *Tlarelulco* are jeer'd with it, and take it for a great Affront. This King reign'd eleven Years, and much enlarg'd his Dominions.

Autzol was chosen the eighth King, after the usual manner, and prov'd nothing inferior to his Predecessor in Virtue and Valour, much belov'd for his Affability.

Being inform'd, that the People of *Quaxuatlan*, a rich Province, had misus'd those that were carrying the Tribute to *Mexico*, and taken it to themselves, he march'd against them, and came off victorious. Carrying on his Conquests, he extended his Dominions as far as *Guatemala*, was generous, charitable to the Poor, rewarded his Soldiers, erected many Structures, brought a great Stream of Water to *Mexico*, thinking there was want of it, and the Quantity was so immense, that the City was in Danger of being drowned, which he remedy'd by his Industry, by drawing a Drein, which secur'd, and left it in an Island, and well built. He reign'd eleven Years.

IN the Year 1518, when the *Spaniards* came into *New Spain*, *Motexuma* the second reign'd, who was so grave, that he could scarce be heard, when he spoke to his Council, his Advice was much admir'd, and therefore he was respected before he came to the Crown. It was his common Practice to withdraw into a great Room he had in the Temple of *Vitzilipuzli*, where he convers'd with his Idol, because he pretended to be very religious, for which, and his high Birth, he was chosen King. When his Election was notify'd to him, he shut himself up in the aforesaid Room in the Temple, the better to carry on his Hypocrisy, and was carry'd from thence to the Council, appearing all the way very grave, and therefore he had the Title of the Surly. He went to the Fire at the Temple, to offer Incense, drew Blood from his Ears, brawny Parts, and Shins, according to Custom; they put on him the Royal Robes, bor'd his Nose, and hung a rich Emerald at it. Being seated on his Throne, he heard the Orations that were made to him, the first of them by the King of *Tezcuco* in Praise of his Virtues, which he answer'd with much Humility and Thankfulness; but as soon as he began to rule his Disposition, chang'd, for he order'd, that

that none but the Nobility should serve him. In order to his Coronation, he march'd out to conquer a Province towards the North Sea, that had revolted, carrying on the War with much Conduct, punish'd the Rebels, left Garrisons on the Frontiers, and return'd with a great Number of Prisoners to be sacrific'd, and a considerable Booty. The great Men became his Servants, tho' they had never us'd to be so before, standing in much Awe, and loving him at the same Time, as generally the *Mexicans* did their Kings. The Coronation was celebrated with very extraordinary Solemnity, Dancing, Plays, Illuminations, Sports, and rich Presents from all his Provinces, abundance of unknown People, and the very Enemies of the Nation, as those of *Tlascala* and *Mechoacan*, resorting to see that Festival, all whom he order'd to be entertain'd and well treated, and Places to be provided for them to behold the Night Diversions, in which they also play'd their Parts. *Motezuma* caus'd himself to be so highly respected, that it almost came to be Adoration. No Commoner was to look him in the Face, and if he did dy'd for it. Nor did he ever set his Feet on the Ground, being always carry'd on the Shoulders of Noblemen, and when set down had a rich Carpet to tread on. When he travelled, none of his Followers were to go along the same Track with him, but along the Sides of the Way; nor did he ever wear one Garment twice, nor eat nor drink out of the same Vessel, and all that he us'd being given to his Servants, they were rich and gay. His Laws were to be inviolably observ'd, whosoever fail'd therein being punish'd without Mercy. He often went disguis'd to observe how all his Ministers and Officers did their Duties, would set Persons to offer Bribes to his Judges, and provoke them to do wrong, and if they prov'd guilty, no Favour or Kindred could secure them from Death. He was a strict Observer of

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Justice,

Justice, seldom suffer'd himself to be seen, keeping up close to order the Government of his Dominions, and how to enlarge them, being very ambitious in that Point, and therefore engag'd in several Wars, obtain'd many Victories, and became greater than any of his Predecessors had ever been, which, when he had arriv'd to, the very Weight sunk him, as is usual in great Monarchies.

C H A P. III.

Of the Religion, Laws, Customs, Manners, and Government of the Mexicans.

HAVING given an Account of the *Mexican* Empire, and its Monarchs, we next proceed to their Religion. Those People, tho' they ador'd a Multitude of Gods, and offer'd human Sacrifices to them, yet they acknowledg'd one Sovereign Deity, whom they worshipp'd looking up to Heaven, and calling him Creator of Heaven and Earth, Admirable, &c. and yet the Christian Preachers found it a very difficult Task to convince those barbarous People that there was only one God, from whom all Blessings were to be expected. Next to the supreme God they paid divine Honour to the Sun, the Moon, the Morning Star, the Sea, and the Earth, and accordingly they call'd *Cortes* the Of-spring of the Sun; but the greatest Honour they paid to their Idol *Vitzilipuztli*, signifying the left Hand of the shining Feather, whose Temple was the most magnificent; and to the other Gods they ascrib'd natural Effects, as Rain, good Harvests,

The HISTORY of America. 205

Harvests, Success in War, Posterity, &c. They were very curious in making Idols, and Pictures of several Sorts, which they ador'd as Gods; and this prevail'd more in *Mexico, Tezcucó, Tlascala, Chulula*, and the adjacent Parts, than in those which were more remote. There was another principal Idol in *Mexico*, which was the God of Penance and Remission of Sins, call'd *Tezcatliputca*, made of black Stone as bright as Jet, finely clad, having a Gold and Silver Ring in his under Lip, with a Christalline small Pipe about half a Foot long, and in it a green Feather, and sometimes a blue, that look'd like a *Turkey Stone*. His Hair was encompass'd with a Fillet of beaten Gold, at the end whereof was an Ear of Gold, with some Smoak painted on it, signifying the Prayers of the Afflicted, and Sinners which he heard, when they apply'd to him. From between that Ear and the other struck out some Heron's Feathers, and at his Neck was a Gold Jewel that cover'd all his Breast, Gold Bracelets on his Wrists, and on his Navel a precious green Stone. In his left Hand a Fan of valuable Feathers, green, blue, and yellow, issuing from a bright Plate of Gold, so finely burnished, that it was like a Looking-Glass, signifying, that through the said Mirror he saw all that was done in the World, for which Reason it was call'd his looking Place. In the Right Hand he had four Darts, denoting the Punishment he inflicted on the wicked for Sin. This was the Idol they most dreaded, for fear he should discover their Crimes, on whose Festival, which was celebrated every four Years, there was a general Pardon of Sins. This Idol was also look'd upon as the Lord of Barrenness and Plague, and therefore they represented him sitting in much Majesty on a Bench with a red Curtain about him, adorn'd with Skulls and dead Men's Bones, on his left Hand a Target, with four Darts sticking out of it, and in the Right, a Javelin,

206 *The HISTORY of America.*

Javelin, ready to be thrown. His Countenance was fierce or angry, the Body anointed with Black, and his Head stuck full of Quail's Feathers. Much Superstition was us'd towards this Idol, by reason of the great Fear they stood in of him.

At *Chulula*, a City near *Mexico*, they ador'd a famous Idol that was the God of Commerce, because they were great Merchants, and are still given to Trading. His Name was *Quetzalcoatl*, he stood in a very lofty Temple, in a spacious Square, with Gold, Silver, Feathers, and costly Cloaths about him, bearing the Figure of a Man, his Face like a Bird, the Beak red, a Comb, or Crest, and Warts on it, with Rows of Teeth, and the Tongue out. On his Head a Paper Mitre ending in a Point, a Sickle in his Hand, many Ornaments of Gold on his Legs, because he enrich'd whom he pleas'd, and his Name signify'd Snake of rich Feathers.

They had also Goddeses, the chiefest of them call'd *Tecci*, that is, our Grandmother, being that Queen whom they had flead, and from that time they began to flea Men that were sacrific'd, and the Living did put on the Skins of the Persons so flead, supposing that it was agreeable to their Deity; as also the tearing out the Hearts of those that were sacrific'd; for they learnt it of their God, when that Punishment was inflicted at *Tuba*. One of those Goddeses they worshipp'd, had a Son, who was a great Sportsman, whom the *Tlascallans* took for their God, and because that Province is very full of Game, they kept a solemn Festival in Honour of him, founding an Horn at the Dawn of the Day, when they all assembled, with their Bows, Arrows, Nets, and other Implements for Hunting. They carry'd their Idol in Procession, a Multitude of People follow'd to an high Mountain, on the Top whereof was an Arbour, and in the Midst of it, an Altar well adorn'd, on which

which they plac'd the Idol, attended all the Way with much Noise of Horns, Corners, Pipes and Drums. When come to the Place, they encompass'd all the Side of that Mountain, and setting Fire to it on every Side, abundance of Deer, Hares, and other Creatures came out, flying from the Fire towards the Top; the Hunters pursu'd them with great Cries, sounding their Instruments, till they had drove them before the Idol, where they hemm'd them in so close, that leaping to make their Escape, some tumbled down, others fell upon the People, and others upon the Altar, which render'd the Sport very agreeable. They sacrific'd the Deer and larger Beasts before the Idol, tearing out their Hearts, with the same Ceremonies that were us'd in sacrificing of Men, and then taking up all the Game on their Backs, they return'd with their Idol, in the same Order as they came, and enter'd the City in joyful Manner, playing on their Musick, till they came to the Temple, where they plac'd the Idol in very respectful Manner, and with the Flesh they had brought treated all the People, the Sports and Dancing beginning as soon as they had eaten. They had many other Gods and Goddeses, but those already mentioned were the chiefest.

THEY also made Gods of living Men, thus. They took a Prisoner that was to be sacrific'd, gave him the Name of the Idol he was to be offer'd to, put on him the same Ornaments, and as long as that Mockery lasted, which was sometimes a Year, sometimes six Months, and sometimes less, they paid him the same Honour as they did to the Idol; he eat, drank, and made merry, and when he went along the Streets, the People came out to adore him, and make their Offerings, and brought out their Children and sick Persons for him to cure and bless them, allowing him to do his Will in all Things, saving, that ten or twelve Men always attended that he might not make his

208. *The HISTORY of America.*

his Escape, as did some Persons of Distinction. As he went along they play'd on a small Pipe, for the People to come out to worship him. He had the best Appartment in the Temple, whither all the prime Men went to wait on and pay him Respect, carrying his Meat with as much State as was done to the Nobility, but at Night he was shut up in a strong Cage, that he might not run away, and if he happened to escape, the chief of those that had guarded him was put into his Place; in conclusion, when he was fat, they sacrific'd and eat him.

THEY had Priests, and Persons that devoted themselves to a retir'd Life, abundance of false Prophets, stately Temples, and smaller Chapels and Oratories, but above all was the *Cu* of *Mexico*, being the famous Temple of *Vitzilipuztli*, so large, that ten thousand Men assembled to dance in the Court of it, before the Appartment. Before the Altar was a Pyramidal green Stone, ending in a Point, about five Spans or an Ell high, on which the Men were laid to be sacrific'd, on their Backs, that their Bodies bowing they might cut open their Breasts with a sharp Flint, and so tear out their Hearts the more easily. There were eight or nine Temples in *Mexico*, join'd to one another, within a large Court, each of them having its peculiar Stairs, and a Yard with Rooms and Bed-chambers, their Grates looking East, West, North, and South; having Towers and Battlements, several sorts of Painting, and Figures carv'd in the Stones, supported by large Buttresses, and these were dedicated to several Gods. The next to *Vitzilipuztli's* Temple in Dignity, was that of the God of *Penance*, and Punishments, before spoken of, which had eighty Steps to go up to the Top, and was curiously wrought. At the Top of the Steps was a plain Space, or Table one hundred and twenty Foot in Breadth, and by it a large Room hung, always cover'd with a Veil, where
none

none but the Priests might enter, and all the Temple was finely wrought with Variety of Figures. These two Temples were in the Nature of Cathedrals, all the rest being as it were Parish Churches, Chapels, and Hermitages, and yet so spacious, that there were within them Colleges, Schools, and Apartments for the Priests.

THERE were superior and inferior Orders of Priests, those of *Vitzilipuztli* came to it by Succession from Families of certain Wards, deputed for that purpose; those of the other Temples were by Election, or being offer'd up to that Service from their Infancy. Their constant Business was to burn Perfumes before the Idols four Times a Day; the first at Break of Day; the second at Noon; the third at Sun-setting; and the fourth at Midnight. At those Hours all that were in Dignities got up, and instead of Bells sounded Horns and Cornets, in a doleful manner; after which, he whose Week it was, came out with a white Garment on, like a Dalmatick, with his Censor in one Hand, and Fire in it taken from the great Hearth or Pan, that was always burning before the Altar; and in the other Hand a Purse with the Incense, and with profound Respect burnt it before the Altar. Then he took a Cloth, and wip'd the Altar, and Curtains, and they all went away together to a Room, where they perform'd a sort of cruel Penance, wounding and drawing Blood from themselves, and this was never omitted at Midnight. They preach'd to the People on certain Festivals, and had Revenues assign'd them, besides great Offerings.

WITHIN the Enclosure of the great Temple of *Mexico*, were two Houses of Retirement, the one for Men, opposite to the other which was for Women, of twelve or thirteen Years of Age, being the same Number as of Men, and call'd the Young penitent Women. They liv'd chastely, shut up, as offer'd to their God,

water'd and swept the Temple, dress'd Meat for the Idol and the Priests, of what was offer'd in Alms. The Idol's Food consisted of small Cakes, like Hands and Feet, and some twisted; with this Bread they made certain Soups, which they set before the Idol, and the Priests did eat it. They went some time with their Hair cut short, and then permitted it to grow till another appointed Time, arose at Midnight, perform'd the same Exercises as the Religious Men, daub'd their Cheeks with the Blood they drew from themselves, and afterwards wash'd. They had Abbesses, who employ'd them in weaving Cloths, for the Service of the Temple; their Habit was all White, without any Ornament. They liv'd reserv'd, and modestly, and if they fail'd infallibly dy'd for it, as Prophaners of their God's House. If a Mouse, or other sort of Vermin hapned to gnaw any thing belonging to the Temple, they said it was a Token of some Crime; search was made, and the Delinquent being found was infallibly put to Death, tho' ever so great. The Maidens to be admitted were to be of one of six particular Wards; their Confinement lasted a Year, after which they went out to marry.

In the Monastery of Men, opposite to that of the Women, there were Youths from eighteen to twenty Years of Age, whom they call'd Religious. They had Crowns shav'd, on their Heads like Friars, with little Hair, but grown down half Way their Ears, and behind down to their Backs, which they ty'd like a Tress. They liv'd in Poverty, Chastity and Obedience; serv'd the Priests in what belong'd to the religious Worship, swept the holy Places, brought Wood for the Fire, that, like a Lamp burnt continually before the Idol's Altar. There were Boys that serv'd like Acolites, all under Superiors, and behav'd themselves so modestly, that when they went out where Women were, they fix'd their Eyes on the Ground. They went about the City, by four and four, or six and six in a mortis-
sy'd

fy'd manner, to beg Alms, and when none was given them they were allow'd to go into the Fields, and take what they had occasion for, as living in Poverty, and having nothing but what came by Charity. There could not be above fifty of them, and one part of their Penance was to rise at Midnight to sound Horns and Cornets to awake the People, watching the Idol by Quarters of the Night and Day, that the Fire might not go out, and when they had offer'd Incense they withdrew to a place appointed for that purpose, and drew Blood from their brawny Parts, with sharp Flint Points, with which they daub'd their Temples down to the lower part of the Ear, and then wash'd themselves in a Pond. These Youths did not anoint their Heads, or Bodies like the Priests; their Garments were of a very rough white Cloth, and this Penance they held for a Year.

THE Priests and dignify'd Persons also drew Blood from their Legs, daub'd their Temples, and the Lancets, which they stuck in Wisps of Straw, on the Battlements of the Temple, that the People might see what Penance they did. The Pool where they wash'd was call'd *Ezapan*, that is, Water of Blood; none of those Lancets serv'd twice, and therefore there was a great Number. They fasted five or ten Days before some Festivals, which were like our Ember Weeks, and many of them to prevent being guilty of any Lewdness cleft their Privities, or used other means to be impotent. They drank no strong Liquor, slept little, most of their Functions being in the Night, whipp'd themselves with knotted Cords. All the People in general whip'd themselves at the Procession, and Festival of the Idol, that was the God of Penance, and had Robes made of *Magney* for that purpose.

THE *Mexicans* very much us'd to sacrifice Men, wherein they exceeded all the Nations in the World, as has been before observ'd. which was the reason why

Moteczuma told *Cortes*, That tho' it had been easy for him to subdue a Nation so near to him as *Tlascala* was, he had not done it, that he might have Men to sacrifice. The manner of doing it, was to place all the Prisoners in a Rank, with many Guards about them, then a Priest came out in a white Alb, with great Fringes at the Bottom, who came down from the Temple, carrying an Idol made of Blights, and *Indian* Wheat, moulded up with Honey, the Eyes of it being green Beads, and the Teeth Grains of *Maiz*, he came down the Steps of the Temple hastily, and went up a very large Stone, that was fix'd on a high Chapel, in the midst of the Court, that Stone was call'd *Quantixicali*, which signifies, the Eagle's Stone, and passing over the Stone, up a little Stair-Case, still hugging the Idol, he went to the place where those stood that were to be sacrific'd showing every one of them that Idol, and saying, *This is your God*. Having so done, he went down the other Side of the Steps, and the Persons to be sacrific'd follow'd in Procession, one by one, to the place where they were to dye, those who were to sacrifice them being there before, and were six Priests, appointed for that Employment, four of them to hold the Hands and Feet, another the Neck, and the sixth to rip open the Breast, and tear out the Heart of the Sacrifice, and this Dignity of Sacrificer was the greatest, much valu'd, descended by Inheritance, and he that ripp'd open the Breast honour'd as High Priest, his Title being *Topilzm*. His Vestment was a red Cloth, like a Dalmatick, with Fringes about it, a Crown of Green and Yellow Feathers; Gold Rings, with green Stones in his Ears, and under his Lip, about the middle of the Chin, a thing like a little Pipe, made of a blue Stone, and his Face daub'd Black. The other Five wore Wigs, very much curl'd, with leather Thongs wound about them, girt to the middle of the Head, and small Paper Targets on the Forehead, painted of several Colours, their Habit white Dalmaticks, wrought

wrought with Black. The High-Priest had in his Hand, a large, broad and sharp Knife, made of Flint. Another Priest carry'd a wooden Collar, wrought like a Snake. The Persons to be sacrific'd, were conducted one by one up the Steps, stark naked, and as soon as laid on the Stone, had the Collar put upon their Necks, and the four Priests took hold of the Hands and Feet. Then the High-Priest with wonderful Dexterity ripp'd up the Breast, tore out the Heart, reeking with his Hands, and show'd it to the Sun, offering him the Heat and Steam that came from it. Then he turn'd to the Idol, and threw it in his Face, which done, he kick'd the Body down the Steps, and it never stopp'd till it came to the Bottom, because they were very upright, and thus they sacrific'd them all, one after another. Those who had taken the Prisoners, carry'd away the Bodies, to divide among themselves, to eat them by way of solemnizing the Festival. This same was practis'd by all the Nations round about *Mexico*. There were other Sacrifices of Men, but this was the most usual; and so great was the Number of those thus abominably sacrific'd, that they sometimes exceeded five thousand, and it had been observ'd that above twenty thousand had been sacrific'd on the same Day, reckning all that thus perish'd in several parts.

WHEN the Priests thought fit, they went to the Kings, and told them, they must remember the Idols who were starving with Hunger, whereupon those Princes sent to one another to prepare for War, because their Gods demanded something to eat. Then they march'd out and fought, only endeavouring to take Prisoners, that they might have Men to feed those Gods. The *Mexicans* kept the great Festival of their God *Vitzilipuztli* in the Month of *May*. Two Days before it, the Maidens that liv'd retir'd in the Temple, kneaded the Flower of Blites, and *Indian* Corn toasted, with Honey, and of that Dough made a large Idol,
with

with the Eyes of Green, Blue, or white Beads, and Grains of the same Wheat for Teeth. All the great Men then came, and cloath'd it in the Habit of the same Idol, and seating it on a blue Stool, plac'd it on a Bier, to be carry'd on Men's Shoulders. On the Festival, before Break of Day, the Maidens came out in new white Dreffes, with Garlands made of toasted *Indian* Wheat ; and Strings of it under their left Arms, both Arms adorn'd with red Feathers of Parrots, and their Cheeks painted Red. This Day they were call'd the God *Vuzilipuztli's* Sisters, and carry'd out the Bier, with the Idol on it, into the Court, where the retir'd Youths, crown'd after the same manner, and very finely dress'd, receiv'd and carry'd it with great Respect to the Foot of the Steps that went up to the Temple. Then all the People bow'd, and taking up Earth strew'd it on their Heads, which was their Ceremony on the principal Festivals, after which they went hastily in Procession to the Hill of *Chapul-tepec*, a League from *Mexico*, where they pray'd and sacrific'd, whence they proceeded in the same hasty manner to a place call'd *Atlacnyabaya*, near the second Station, and went on a League farther to *Cuyoacan*, whence they return'd without halting to *Mexico*. This Journey of four Leagues was perform'd in four Hours, and this Procession was call'd *Ipayna Vitzilipuztli*, that is, *Vitzilipuztli's* hasty Way. The Bier was again set down at the Foot of the Steps, and thence drawn up with Ropes in a very respectful manner, to the Top of the Temple, a great Noise being made all the while, with Horns, Cornets, Drums, and Pipes, because the Steps were so upright and narrow, that the same could not be carry'd upon Men's Shoulders, the People looking on very devoutly. When drawn up to the Top, and put into a little House of Flowers, the retir'd Youths strew'd many of them about the Temple, and the Maidens carry'd many Pieces of the

the Dough the Idol had been made of, shap'd like Bones, which they laid at his Feet, and call'd them *Vuzilipuzli's* Flesh. All the dignify'd Priests of the Temple came out, according to their Seniority, in much Order, one after another, habited suitable to their several Offices, with Garlands, and Strings of Flowers, and after them follow'd the Gods and Goddeses they worshipp'd, in several Shapes, clad in the same Livery, and put about them the aforesaid pieces of Dough, performing some Ceremony of Singing and Dancing over them, which was Blessing them as that God's Flesh. When the Blessing was over, the Sacrificers came out, and proceeded to the butchering of Men, which, by reason the Festival was so great, exceeded that of other Days. After them came out the retir'd Youths and Maidens of the Temple, and taking their places opposite to one another, sang and danc'd to the Beat of a Drum, in Praise of the Solemnity, and of the Idol, all the prime Men, and Persons of Note answering the Song, dancing about them, making a Chorus, the young Men and Maids always holding by one another in the middle, and all the City flock'd to see this Sight. When the Solemnity was over, the Priests took the Idol, and the Pieces of Dough before spoken of, and distributed them in Bits among the People, great and small, Men and Women, like bless'd Bread, or a sort of Communion, and they receiv'd it with much Respect, Fear, and Tears, saying, they did eat their God's Flesh, and carry'd some of it to the Sick, looking upon it as a most heinous Sin to eat, or to drink Water, or any other Liquor till after Noon, hiding the Water from Children, warning one another to avoid the Wrath of their God. When this sort of Communion was over, an old Man, mounted on high, preach'd upon their Law and Ceremonies.

THE Priests daub'd their Hair from Top to Bottom with a wet Ointment, which made it like Horse Hair, and it grew down to their Hams, so that the Weight of it became very troublesome, for they were never to cut it off as long as they liv'd, or at least till they made their Jubilee, or Quietus for meer Age, and in that Case they gave them other honourable publick Employments. They made up their Hair into Tresses with Cotton Breeds six Fingers broad. The Smoak with which they incens'd themselves was of the Heart of the Pine-tree, so that they look'd like perfect Blacks, and when they went to burn Incense, or to Sacrifice to the Idols they had in Caves, in the thickest Parts of Woods, or on the Tops of Mountains, they us'd another Ointment, made of venomous Insects, burnt with Tobacco, and moulded with Soot, or rather Colly. They thus became Wizards, and talk'd with the Devil, and became so fearless, that being daub'd with that which they call'd the Ointment of their God, they went by Night about the Woods, and most dreadful Places, being convinc'd that the Tygers, Lyons, and Bears would not hurt them; and the same Ointment they made use of to cure Children, and sick Persons, saying it was a Divine Medicine, and affirm'd, that it gave them singular Ease, which might be occasion'd by the Tobacco, and poisonous Ingredients, which benumbing the part, they took for a Cure. Thus the Priests bearing much Authority among the People, perswaded them into a thousand Superstitions.

THEY sacrific'd the Ears and Privy-Members of new-born Male Infants, by drawing a little Blood from them, and this Ceremony was chiefly practis'd on the Children of Kings and great Men. As soon as born the Priests wash'd them, and gave a little Sword into their Right, and a little Target into their left Hand. They gave the Sons of the common sort the Badges
of

some small Gifts, and at Night all the Inhabitants were in the Town, with a considerable Present of Fowls and Bread. At this Time Advice was brought that the Lord of *Zempala* was coming on a Bier carry'd by many *Indians*. He and the Lord of *Chianhuizlan*, with Tears in their Eyes, complain'd to *Cortes* of the Wrongs done them by *Moteczuma*; saying, he exacted heavy Taxes; took away their Sons to serve him in his Palace, and to sacrifice them, and that his Officers forc'd away theirs and their Subjects Wives and Daughters, and ravish'd them, adding many more Injuries offer'd to all those Towns of the *Totonaque* Language, being about thirty in Number, declaring that they liv'd in most miserable Servitude, without the least Glimpse of Liberty. *Cortes* kindly offer'd to deliver them from that Oppression, with which they were well satisfy'd, tho' they still express'd how much they dreaded the Effects of *Moteczuma's* Anger, when he should be inform'd that they had receiv'd and entertain'd the *Spaniards*.

WHILST they were discoursing of these Affairs, some *Indians* of the Town came in very hastily, with Advice that *Moteczuma's* Tax-gatherers were coming, which put the two *Caziques* into such a Fright, that they left *Cortes* alone, and went away quaking to receive them, those Men passing along the Market-Place where *Cortes* was, with much State and Haughtiness, attended by many of the Prime Men. Five of them had short thick Rods in their Hands, like those us'd by the *Alguaziles* in the Kingdom of *Aragon*, and Fans, which were not allow'd to any but great Persons. They had Lodgings provided, and their Meat and all other Necessaries serv'd up in most splendid Manner. They reprov'd the *Caziques* for having entertain'd the Strangers, without the King's Leave, demanding twenty *Indian* Men and Women to be sacrific'd, in order to appease the Gods for that great Sin they had been guilty

of. *Cortes* observing the great Disturbance there was, enquir'd of *Marina*, what it meant, and being inform'd, sent for the Lord of *Zempoala*, ask'd of him, what Men those were he made so much of. He answer'd, they were *Moteczuma's* Tax-gatherers, who enquir'd why they had entertain'd the *Spaniards*, and demanded twenty Persons to be sacrific'd, that the Gods might make them victorious over the Strangers. *Cortes* told them, That the King his Master had sent him to relieve the oppress'd, and to abolish those Sacrifices, and shedding of human Blood; and therefore since those Officers came upon that Account, they should immediately secure them; at which the *Caziques* were astonish'd, thinking it an unheard of Presumption so to do, and durst not go about it; however *Cortes* insisting on it, they bound them to long Poles, put Collars about their Necks, and because one of them resisted they beat him. *Cortes* order'd those Lords not to pay any more Tribute to *Moteczuma*, nor obey his Commands, and to cause the same to be proclaim'd in all the Towns of their Friends and Allies, and to let him know whether there were any more Tax-gatherers in any of them, and he would cause them to be secur'd. The Fame hereof flew through the whole Country, where all Men were astonish'd at such unusual Proceedings. The two *Caziques* being encourag'd by *Cortes*, were for sacrificing the Prisoners, which he would not permit, but caus'd them to be kept in a particular Room, under a Guard of *Spaniards*. At Midnight he order'd two of the Prisoners to be brought before him, so as that the *Indians* of those Parts might know nothing of it. The Interpreters ask'd them, who they were, whence they came, and why they were confin'd. They answer'd, that the *Caziques* of *Zempoala* and *Chianhuizlan* had seiz'd them by Encouragement from him and his People. *Cortes* said, he knew nothing, and was very sorry for it, made much of, and bid them go tell their Master

fter *Moteczuma*, that he and his Men were his Servants and Friends, and that he had dismiss'd them, and check'd the *Caziques* by whom they had been imprison'd, and would order the other three that were still in Custody to be discharg'd, but that they must be gone immediately before any Discovery was made. They answer'd, That they must of Necessity go through the Country of the *Totonagues*, who would kill them, to prevent their going to *Mexico*, whereupon he order'd them to be carry'd in a Boat beyond the Limits of *Zempoala*. In the Morning, when the *Indians* miss'd the two Prisoners, they would have sacrific'd the other three that remain'd, had not *Cortes* hinder'd them, pretending to be very angry, because the two were gone, and said, that since they had given such an ill Account of them, he would secure the other three, ordering them to be carry'd in Fetters aboard the Ships, where they had them immediately taken off, and were told, they should be soon set at Liberty, which was very pleasing to them, and advis'd *Cortes* not to trust those *Zempoalans*, who were barbarous, mountaineers, revengeful Rebels, and lov'd to put their Master to trouble, as they had done at other Times. *Cortes* had them brought before him from aboard the Ship, and told them, He was sorry for the Disrespect show'd to their Master, whose Friendship he was ambitious of, and that as soon as their Companions return'd, he would set them at Liberty. The *Totonague Indians* of that Province taking this Matter into Consideration, condemning the Disrespect show'd to *Moteczuma*, advis'd to beg his Pardon in humble Manner, laying all the Blame of what had hapned on the *Spaniards*, for that they ought not to despair of his Clemency. Others said, it was better to die in Defence of their Liberty, than live under such Slavery, or to expect Mercy from a King, who laid such heavy Burdens upon them, but that on the contrary they should make Use of the Favour of those

Gods, for so they call'd the *Spaniards*, to proceed in what they had undertaken, and assert their Liberty. *Moteczuma's* Tyranny was so great, that this Opinion prevail'd, and they resolv'd to pray *Cortes* to assist them, offering to die in his Service.

Cortes was highly pleas'd to see his Enterprize so well advanc'd; yet he modestly answer'd the Lord of *Zempoala*, and others, that they should seriously consider what they did, because *Moteczuma* was a potent Prince, but still, if they would stand by what they said, he would be their Leader, since it was but reasonable to defend his Friends, and love those that lov'd him, and therefore they must truly tell him, what Men could be had, and what Allies they thought would stand by them. They answer'd, that when once the War was proclaim'd, and it was known that those Gods protected them, one hundred thousand Men would take up Arms. He reply'd, that tho' he stood not in need of their Help, it would be proper nevertheless to warn them to be in a Readiness, to the End that in case the King hapned to send any Forces, they might not be surpriz'd, and if they wanted Aid they might give him timely Notice. This was so great an Encouragement, that tho' they much dreaded *Moteczuma*, being naturally of a haughty Temper, they grew bold, and sent Word through all that Country, that if the *Mexicans* began the War, they should give them Notice, and they would relieve them. All the Mountain Country took heart, and rejoyc'd, looking on it as a wonderful Providence that they should be succour'd by those who they judg'd by their Omens and Predictions were to destroy them. The Alliance was immediately proclaim'd; they promis'd Submission to the Crown of *Spain*, and thus *Cortes* promoted his Designs; and to the End that *Moteczuma* might not think the Rebellion of the *Totonagues* had been his Contrivance, he, with the Consent of the Lords of *Chianhuizlan*, order'd

order'd that the three *Mexican* Prisoners should be set at Liberty, and bid them tell the King, That tho' his Governour *Teuabille*, had with-held his Provisions, and show'd Tokens of Enmity, he still desir'd to serve him, and to communicate some Affairs that were for his Service.

THE Arrival of such strange People was known throughout all the Country, which occasion'd much Fright and Disorder; not for Fear of losing their Lands, but because they thought the World was drawing to an End, and all human Race was to perish; and the most powerful Men sought out in the Mountains for Places of Safety to secure themselves against the Anger of the Gods, till their Wrath was appeas'd. They said, the Omens and Tokens they had seen were intended to make them amend, because those Tokens could denote nothing less than the End of the World, and therefore the People in general were very melancholy. The *Mexican* Government immediately consulted their Oracles, to know whether the *Spaniards* were Gods, and by the King's Advice, sent for a more particular Account of them, tho' by Means of his Sorceries he well knew that they were human Creatures, and had all the Affections of Men. They were much astonish'd at the Sight of a Cross-Bow and Sword that were carry'd to *Motexama*, and much more to hear, that they had with them a Woman, like a Goddess, meaning *Marina*, by whose Means they understood the Natives; and being told, that in some little Towns they had cast down the Idols, they said, if they had been Brothers to the Gods they would not misuse them, and therefore they must be some beastly People, and the Gods would requite them. These, and such like Discourses were frequent among them, as being almost beside themselves, for in reality, the Prodigies that had been seen among them, which shall be spoken of in the proper Place, were dreadful. On the other Hand,
some

some said, they must needs be Gods, because they rode upon strange Creatures that had never been seen before. They admir'd at their Coming without any Women, except only that *Melinche*, so they call'd *Marina*, and that it was by the Help of the Gods that she understood the *Mexican* Tongue, because being a Stranger, she could not know it any other Way. They ask'd how it was possible that any human Strength could manage that Sword and Cross-Bow. Thus they made their Reflections upon all Particulars, for tho' the small Number of the *Spaniards* did not daunt them, yet they were amaz'd at their Boldness in offering to go to *Mexico*, besides other Circumstances which they admir'd. In the mean time *Cortes* made it his Business to be inform'd in all Points relating to the Country.

THE Alliance before-mention'd being concluded, *Cortes*, with the Advice of the Magistrates and Commanders, thought fit to build the Town of *Villa Rica de la vera Cruz*, on a Plain about half a League from the Town of *Chianhuitzan*, which was in the Nature of a Fortrefs. They mark'd out a Church, Town-House, Market-Place, Arsenal, Magazines, and Plats for the private Houses, all near good Rivers, and Pasture. Orders were also given for building out of Hand a strong House, or Castle, to be made Use of upon Occasion of any Emergency in War, to defend themselves in Case of Need, and to receive Succours. All was carry'd on with the utmost Diligence, none from the highest to the lowest being exempted from the Work, for as much as it concern'd the Safety of them all. As soon as *Motexuma* was inform'd of the Imprisonment of his Tax-Gatherers, and the Rebellion of the *Totonagues*, looking upon it as the highest Affront to his Majesty, he order'd a mighty Army to be rais'd to chastise the same; but the two Prisoners arriving, and telling how they had been set at Liberty by *Cortes*, and delivering the Message he had given them,

them, he was appeas'd, and sent two Youths, his Nephews, attended by four antient Noblemen, with a great Present of Cotton Cloths, and Gold, ordering them to return Thanks to *Cortes*, for having set his Servants at Liberty, and at the same Time to exprefs how much he resented the Revolt of those Towns, under the Protection of the *Spaniards*, in Respect to whom, believing them to be the same his Forefathers had said should come into his Dominions, and that they were of his own Lineage, he did not send to destroy those Rebels, because they were in their Houses; but that they should have Time to repent them of their Disrespect. *Cortes* receiv'd the Present, which was worth two thousand Pieces of Eight, and said, he and all his Brethren were very much the King's Servants, tho' he was concern'd at the ill Behaviour of the King's Ministers towards them, in forsaking them, and cutting off their Provisions, without any Cause, or so much as taking their Leave; which he did not think could be done by Order of so great a Prince; that the Want of Provisions had oblig'd them to repair to those Towns, where they had been well receiv'd, and therefore he entreated him to forgive them, and not to be offended at their forbearing to pay him the Tribute, because they could not serve two Masters; and since he and all his Brethren design'd very speedily to go kiss his Hands, Orders should be taken for his Service. He gave the Youths, and the other Gentlemen some Presents of such Things as he had, and order'd the Horsemen to skirmish in the Meadows, which was very agreeable to the *Mexicans*, and the *Totonagues* were no less pleas'd to see that instead of the War they expected from *Moteczuma*, he sent an Embassy and Presents to *Cortes*, which made them have a great Conceit of him. Here his Horse dy'd, and he bought a brown chefnut Horse that prov'd extraordinary good, and belong'd to *Ortiz* the Musician, and *Bartholomew Garcia*, for Horses
were

were then so scarce that two Men kept one between them.

SOON after the *Mexicans* were gone, the Lord of *Zempoala*, and other prime Persons went to *Cortes*, to acquaint him, that a great Number of Men was drawing together in a strong Town call'd *Zimpanzingo*, where there was a Garison of *Culhuas*, with a Design to come and destroy their Corn, and did them much Harm. He being importun'd, and having promis'd to assist and protect them, turn'd to such of his own People as were about him, and said, That since they look'd upon them as Gods, in that Country, he would send old *Heredia*, who had an ill Countenance, a long Beard, a Scar a-crofs his Face, and but one Eye. He order'd him to advance along the Road to *Zimpancingo*, to the River that was near it, firing his Musket by the Way, and there he would send to call him. He did so, and the *Indians* follow'd him full of Amazement, and well satisfy'd, thinking that he alone was sufficient against all their Enemies. When they were come to the River, *Cortes* order'd them to be call'd, and said, he would march himself, with all his Brethren against the *Culhuas*, to show the Kindness he had for them. He order'd the Artillery and the Men to be in Readiness, and the Corporals commanding some Soldiers of the Faction of *James Velasquez* to their Posts, they declar'd in haughty Manner, that they would not march upon any Expedition, for they had lost enough by being deluded away from their Houses by *Cortes*, and since he had offer'd them Leave and Accommodation to return Home, they demanded it. These were seven in Number, whom he call'd to him, and ask'd, Why they acted so basely? They answer'd boldly, That they admir'd he would pretend to settle with so small a Number of Men in so populous a Country; that they were weary with rambling about, and sickly, and therefore he should give them leave to go to their

their own Homes, as he had promis'd. He reply'd, It was true he had promis'd, but that they were in the wrong in quitting their Colours, but since they desir'd it, they might go immediately; appointed them a Ship, gave them Cazabi Bread, a Jar of Oyl, and some Pulse, and one of these Soldiers, whose Name was *Moron*, sold his Horse to *John Ruano*. When these Soldiers were aboard, and ready to sail, as was said, at the Instigation of *Cortes*, the Alcaldes, Regidores, and several others repair'd to him, and in the King's Name requir'd him, not to give Leave to, or permit those Men to go away; because it was not convenient to suffer any to depart; when they were in a Country that was full of such warlike People; but that on the contrary, it was a Crime that deserv'd Death to desert from their Colours at such a Time. Tho' *Cortes* was first much importun'd, pretending not to comply, he at length revok'd the Licence, and those Men were disappointed, and *Moron* left without a Horse, for *John Ruano* would not restore him, because he had been fairly sold.

THE Disturbance occasion'd by those that would return to *Cuba* being quell'd, *Cortes* march'd with all his Forces to the Assistance of the *Totonagues*, advancing first to *Zempoala*, where two thousand Men were ready in Arms, divided into four Parcels, to join the *Spaniards*. They march'd five Leagues the first Day to some Houses near the Town, and resolv'd to proceed into it immediately, and as they began to enter the strong Streets, lying among Rocks and Clifts, eight Priests and prime *Indians* came out to them, in peaceable Manner, lamenting, and asking *Cortes*, why he would kill and destroy them, without any Provocation, and begging, that since it was reported of him that he deliver'd the oppress'd, he would do them no Harm; declaring it was true they were at Variance with the *Zem-*

poalans, on Account of their Borders; but that there were then none of the *Culias* in their Town, that they were ready to serve him, and begg'd he would not hurt them. *Cortes* order'd *Christopher de Olid*, the Colonel, to take Care that the *Zempoalans* did no Harm, and tho' he lost no Time, they were already plundering the first Mansions they came to, which *Cortes* was concern'd at. He order'd their Captains to be call'd, commanded them to restore all that had been taken, and reprov'd them, for having drawn him thither fraudulently, in order to take those People, with his Assistance, to sacrifice them, for which they deserv'd Death; for that the great King of *Spain* had not sent him to commit Outrages; and that for the future they should take Care not to give him any false Relations, or practise any such Methods, which would cost them their Lives. The Goods that had been plunder'd, and the Prisoners taken, being restor'd, *Cortes* again charg'd the *Zempoalans* to behave themselves peaceably, and told the Inhabitants, that his King was wont to govern his Subjects after that Manner, and if they design'd to be such, they must in the first Place forbear sacrificing Men, committing Sodomy, eating human Flesh, and other Abominations they were guilty of; and believing in one only God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, cast down their Idols, which were the Invention of the Devil, who kept them so long in their Error, when God in his Mercy, gave them the Opportunity of Opening their Eyes, having for his unsearchable Judgments permitted them to continue till then in Blindness.

THOSE *Indians* observing how uprightly *Cortes* acted, were very well satisfy'd, call'd in the People of other Towns, and acquainting them with all that was doing, they submitted themselves to the Crown of *Spain*, and became its Subjects. *Cortes* summon'd the Commanders of the *Zempoalans*, who were with his Men in the
Camp,

Camp, and told them, that since they were all Subjects to the King of *Spain*, they ought to be Friends, and to live for the future in Peace and Unity. They promis'd so to do, and were well pleas'd to be deliver'd from the Yoke of *Moteczuma*, those People making the same Complaints against him and his Soldiers as the *Zempoalans* had done, and then he return'd to *Zempoala* a different Way from that he came. The Troops pass'd by two Towns of those that were newly enter'd into the Confederacy, and whilst they were resting in the Afternoon, a Soldier, whose Name was *Mora*, born at *Ciudad Rodrigo*, took two Hens, so that *Cortes* saw it, and was so angry, both because it was done in his Presence, and in regard that he would have his Soldiers to observe Discipline, that he order'd him to be hang'd, and had not *Peter de Alvarado* cut him down with his Sword, he had actually dy'd, he dropp'd down half choak'd, and some time after was kill'd in Fight at *Guatemala*. The Lord himself was near *Zempoala* in some Cottages, waiting for *Cortes* with Provisions, and in Fear on Account of having made him undertake that Journey upon a false Relation, for they were not so barbarous as not to be sensible that *Cortes* made good his Assertion, that he was sent to maintain Justice, which gain'd him much Reputation; and for as much as the Dread of *Moteczuma* made them uneasy, they could have wish'd, that for their greater Security, the *Spaniards* had never departed out of their Town; for which Reason they said, that since they were now all the same, for the faster Knitting of their Friendship, they should take their Daughters to breed on, and carry'd them eight beautiful Damsels, Daughters of Prime Men, well clad, with Gold Necklaces, and Pendants in their Ears, with Women Servants, the Cazi-que saying, that seven of them were for the Captains, and the other, being his Niece, for *Cortes*. He with

much Gravity and Eloquence told him, “ That to the
 “ End the Union and Amity between them should
 “ be permanent, it was requisite they should in the
 “ first Place reform their Abuses, and leave off those
 “ Abominations they practis’d, offering the Lives of
 “ innocent Persons in Sacrifice to the Devil, and eating
 “ their Flesh, which was odious in the Sight of God
 “ and Man; and therefore it was the Divine Will,
 “ that they should open their Eyes to be sensible of
 “ the Errors they liv’d in, and then they would wil-
 “ lingly accept of those Maids, provided that they
 “ were Christians, because it was not lawful for the
 “ Sons of the Church of God to have to do with
 “ Idolaters.” The Heathen Priests, and chief Men
 that were present, answer’d, That those Gods they
 ador’d had always given them Health, good Harvests,
 and all they stood in Need of, for which reason they
 could not forsake them, tho’ they approv’d of Reform-
 ing Vice. The *Spanish* Soldiers unanimously cry’d out,
 that they could not bear with the Inhumanities those
 harden’d Idolaters daily practis’d in their Sight, and
 therefore they ought in the first Place to assert the Ho-
 nour of God, which was the principal Motive of send-
 ing them thither, upon which Account they were ready
 to lay down their Lives.

Cortes having commended the *Spaniards* for their pious
 Resolution, and quoted some Texts of Scripture in
 Defence of it, said, It was proper first to try, whether
 that could be brought about by fair Means, and in
 case the *Indians* did not comply, since he had the Ho-
 nour to command such zealous Christians, he would be
 the willinger to die first for so good a Cause. The *In-
 dians* were very uneasy at this Proposal of the Christi-
 ans, and *Cortes* drawing near, the Lord of *Zempoala*,
 with other Priests and Noblemen, told him, That if
 such an Indignity were offer’d to their Gods, they
 would

would all perish. *Cortes* laughing at it, answer'd, that to undeceive them of their Error, he would run the Hazard of all that Danger; and cause the Idols to be cast down, and as for them they should take heed not to make any Opposition, as he heard there was some Muttering among them, for the Idols would certainly be destroy'd, and they severely punish'd. This being resolv'd, by the Interposition of *Marina*, who was an excellent Interpreter; the *Indians* still reply'd, That as for themselves they were not worthy to touch their Gods, but if *Cortes* still persisted in casting them down, they protested it should be without their Consent. Hereupon about fifty Soldiers chearfully stepp'd out of their Ranks, and praising God, threw down those hideous Figures of Dragons, Tygers, and Bears, with human Bodies. The *Indians* lamented, hid their Eyes, and said they had no Hand in it. The Report hereof spread through the whole Town, and a vast Number of arm'd Men came out, whereupon *Cortes* order'd the Cazique of *Zempoala*, the Priests and chief Men to be secur'd, and told them, they should all dye, if they made the least Disturbance, the *Spaniards* being ready to execute the Orders of their Commander; but the Lord commanded them all to be quiet.

ALL being perform'd as has been said, *Cortes* order'd the Idols to be thrown away, and the Priests, whom in their Language they call'd *Papas*, and who wore long black Cloaks with Hoods to them, like *Capas*, with other short ones, like *Dominican* Friars, took and carry'd them away. Those Men were much respected, on Account of their Dignity, and because they were Noblemen, and marry'd. *Cortes* then, by Means of the Interpreters told the Priests, and great Men, that he now look'd upon them as his Brothers, and pursuant to it again promis'd to defend them against *Moteczuma*, and all the World, and commanded them

not to pay him any more Tribute ; and since there were to be no more Idols in the Temples, it was proper there should begin to be some Show of Christianity, and Means us'd for the Salvation of Souls. He order'd *Indian* Plaisterers to come and take off from the Walls the Crusts that were on them of human Blood from the Sacrifices that had been offer'd, and other Filth, and to cleanse them, especially the greatest of the Temples where that was practis'd. The next Day all was clean, and plaister'd over, and an Altar erected, adorn'd with rich Cloths, Boughs, and Flowers. The Heathen Priests were also oblig'd to cut their Hair, and cleanse themselves, for they wore it very long, twisted, and daub'd with the Blood that flew from the Sacrifices, and which they drew from their own Ears, and to wear Garments of white Cloth. Then *Cortes* bid them observe, how much Christian Piety was to be preferr'd before their former Cruelties, and how much more agreeable it was to Decency and Reason; for that God abhorr'd Sodomy, and the other Vices which they themselves had offer'd to reform, as well as the Cruelty of Shedding of human Blood without any Cause, which occasion'd all that Filth, and Stench, which they had cleans'd, so that their own Persons, and those of their Children and Friends would be secur'd from that Sort of Death, for God would not have any to be destroy'd, but that they should all live to praise and glorify him; for it was he alone that gave them Life, Health, and Victory against their Enemies, good Harvests, and all other spiritual and temporal Blessings; and they were to observe, that he had lov'd Mankind to such a Degree, as to come into the World for our Salvation, and to take Flesh in the Virgin Womb of a Lady, whose Resemblance all the Catholick Church honour'd and respected. That he would cause the same to be set upon the Altar, and by her Intercession they might expect

peſt greater Bleſſings than ever were to be hop'd for from their Idols. When all Things were made ready, a Croſs was erected on the Altar, and an old Soldier call'd *John de Torres* appointed to ſtay and attend the Service of the Place, and inſtruct the *Indians*, there being no better Conveniency at that Time. *F. Bartholomew de Olmedo* ſung Maſs, ſome Soldiers who had Skill ſerving, and the eight *Indian* Maids were baptiz'd, *Cortes* keeping the *Cazique's* Niece, who was call'd *Catherine*, and diſtributing the reſt among the Gentlemen, who carry'd them where they went, at which the *Indians* were well pleas'd, and ever after continu'd good Friends to the *Spaniards*.

Cortes having thus eſtabliſh'd Friendſhip with the *Zempoalans*, march'd away to his new Colony of *Villa Rica*, and the ſame Day he came to it a Ship arriv'd from *Cuba*, commanded by *Francis de Salcedo*, ſurnam'd *el Palido*, or the Spruce. This Ship brought Captain *Lewis Marin*, with a Mare, and ten Solders, and *Salcedo* had a good Horſe. Theſe Perſons brought Advice, that *James Velasquez* had receiv'd the Title of *Adelantado*, and the King's Commiſſion to trade, and make Settlements in the new diſcover'd Countries that had been granted him. Theſe Forces having been now three Months in *New-Spain*, and the Fort almoſt made deſenſible, it was conſulted how to proceed, and propos'd to go up the Country to try Fortune; but it was reſolv'd in the firſt Place to ſend ſome Perſons to the King, to give an Account of what had been done in his Service, and carry him the fifth of the Gold, and all the Reſt that had been given. *Alonſo Hernandez Puerto Carrero*, and *Francis de Montejo* were pitch'd upon to go on this Errand; and *Cortes* thinking that what he had was very little, when every Officer and Soldier had his Share, and that the King's fifth being accordingly inconfiderable, it would not answer the Account they

they were to give of the Wealth of that Country, he order'd *Francis de Montejo*, and *James de Ordaz*, that they as Men in Authority, should speak to all the Soldiers Man by Man, and perswade them to resign their Shares, to be sent to the King as a Present, many of the Gentlemen to whom the same had been propos'd freely offering to do the like. They readily consented; and all that had been got was converted into a Present, for *Cortes* would not deduct his own fifth, nor any Expences, to avoid any breaking Bulk, only taking so much out of the whole Sum, as was necessary for the Expence of the Voyage. and to maintain the Messengers going and coming, besides something *Cortes* sent to his Father *Martin Cortes*. He gave those Deputies ample Power and Instructions, with a particular Relation of all he had done, both at *Cuba* and in *New-Spain*. He likewise writ a very long Letter to the King, taking Notice in it of the Difference with *James Velásquez*, the Disturbances occasion'd among the Men by his Partisans; the Fatigues they had all gone through; how ready they were to proceed; the vast Extent and Wealth of that Country; the Hopes he had conceiv'd of reducing it under his Obedience, and begging he would not forget him when any Commissions were given out for that Country. The Magistrates of *Vera Cruz* writ another Letter, representing the Service they had done his Majesty; the Reason they had for making that Settlement, and their Sufferings. The Captains writ another to the same Effect, as did the Soldiers of most Note, promising to defend that Town at the Expence of their Lives, unless otherwise commanded by his Majesty, and all of them most humbly intreated the King, to bestow the Government of that Country, and others that should be by them discover'd and subdu'd, upon *Ferdinand Cortes*, whom they had chosen for their Commander, to prevent Disputes,
and

and because no Man was more capable of serving his Majesty, and that in case another had been appointed, that his Commission might be call'd in question, and that his Majesty would be pleas'd speedily to answer and dispatch their Deputies. *Cortes* gave them the best Ship, and appointed *Antony de Alaminos* their Pilot, designing in order to avoid coming near *Cuba* to sail thro' the Channel of *Bahama*, and he was the most skilful Pilot in that Sea. They sail'd on the 26th of *July* this Year 1519, with fifteen Sailors, and touching at *Marien* in *Cuba*, proceeded to the *Havana*, pass'd the Channel of *Bahama*, and had a good Voyage to *Spain*, being the first that ever sail'd that Way, to avoid falling into the Hands of *James Velasquez*. *Antony de Alaminos* took this Resolution, being well acquainted with the *Lucayo* Islands, and the Coast of *Florida*, and concluding that those Currents must end somewhere, and accordingly he stood to the Northward, and it prov'd well, for being got safe out of the Channel, he came into the open Sea, and arriv'd safe at *Sanlucar* in *October*. The Clergyman *Benedict Martin*, was then at *Sevil*, in order to carry over the King's Dispatches to *James Velasquez* at *Cuba*. He informing the Officers of the *India* House, that those Deputies were out of the King's Service, they seiz'd all that was in the Ship, together with the three thousand *Castellanos* they had for their Expences, and what *Cortes* sent his Father. The Present for the King was sent to him to *Valladolid*, and Advice given to the Bishop of *Burgos*, who was fitting out the Fleet to carry his Majesty over to *Flanders*, with Complaints against *Cortes* for having revolted from *James Velasquez*. The Deputies, with the Pilot *Antony de Alaminos*, and *Cortes's* Father went away to meet the King at *Tordesillas*.

WHEN the Deputies were gone from *Vera Cruz*, some Servants and Friends of *James Velasquez*, and

with them the Clergyman *F. John Diaz*, being uneasy upon several Accounts, agreed among themselves to steal a small Vessel, and sail away to *Cuba*, to acquaint *James Velasquez* with what was doing; but when they had got the Ship ready, and were going to embark in the Night, *Bernardin de Coria*, one of the Gang, repented and gave Notice of it to *Cortes*, who immediately order'd the Sails to be taken from the Ships, and the Fugitives to be secur'd, who own'd the Truth, accusing some Persons of more Note than themselves, with whom, *Cortes* considering his Circumstances, was forc'd to connive. However he, with much seeming Sorrow condemn'd *James Escudero*, the Alguazil who had seiz'd him in *Cuba*, as has been said before, to be hang'd, and with him *James Cermeno*, a Man so active, that with only a Spear in his Hand he would leap over another Spear held up at Arm's Length by the tallest Man in the Army, and had so quick a Scent, that he smelt Land at above fifteen Leagues Distance out at Sea. Another had one Foot cut off, and two were whipp'd. He would not punish several others, nor *F. John Diaz*, because he was a Clergyman, and thus *Cortes* made himself to be fear'd and honour'd, and as soon as he had sign'd the Warrant for Execution, to prevent its being obstructed by Intreaties, he went away to *Zempoala*, where he appointed *Peter de Alvarado* to meet him, he being gone with two hundred Men to the Mountain Towns for Provisions, which grew scarce among the Troops; designing there to treat of the March to *Mexico*, the Soldiers being desirous of it, *Cortes* putting them in Hopes that they would be there enrich'd, by which Means he gain'd their Affections, and kept them in Awe.

THE March to *Mexico* being under Deliberation at *Zempoala*, *Cortes* resolv'd to sink all his Ships, to deprive the Favourers of *James Velasquez* of all Hopes
of

of returning to *Cuba*, because there were so many of them, that if they went away, they would much diminish his Forces; and at the same Time to add Resolution to the Rest, who finding themselves in that vast populous Country without any Possibility of getting off, would be necessitated to follow and obey him, and to trust only to their Valour. However lest this should occasion some Disturbance among the Men, he contriv'd, that the Soldiers who were his most stedfast Friends should ask it of him, perswading them to it with several Arguments, and among the rest, that the Mariners being an hundred Men, they would be a great Help to the Soldiers, and bear Part of all their Fatigues, mounting Guards, standing Sentinels, &c. The Soldiers accordingly ask'd it of him, and a publick Instrument was made of the same by a Notary, tho' it was thought that there was another Piece of Subtilty in this Management, which was his not being left alone under the Obligation of paying for the Ships, but that the whole Army should pay for them. This done he order'd *John de Escalante* the chief Alguazil, to repair to *Villa Rica*, and to bring ashore from aboard the Ships the Anchors, Iron-Work, Sails, and all that might be of any Use, and then to sink them all, except the Boats, and that the Mariners who were aged, or disabled, and unfit for Service should stay in the Town. *John de Escalante*, who was a very diligent Man, perform'd it with much Expedition, and return'd to *Zempoala* with the ablest of the Seamen, many of whom prov'd very good Soldiers.

The End of the Third Book.



THE
General HISTORY

Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of

AMERICA, &c.

DECAD. II. BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

*Cortes proclaims his March for Mexico ;
leaves John de Escalante at Villa Rica ;
what hapned with the Men of a Ship
that arriv'd there ; he sets out on that
Enterprize ; takes the Way of Tlascala ;
Manner of Embassies there ; Otomies routed.*



HE March to *Mexico* being agreed on, and
publish'd, when it was known that *John de
Escalante* had destroy'd the Ships, some of
the Soldiers began to mutter. This was one
of the most difficult Streights *Cortes* was brought into ;
but he was so discreet, that he gain'd, and brought
over

over to his Beck some by fair Promises himself, and others by the Means of third Persons, and thus they began to prepare for the March to *Mexico*. He then sent for the Lord of *Zempoala*, and charg'd him, " To keep the Churches very clean, and cause the due Respect to be paid to them ; adding, That he was going with his Brethren to *Mexico*, to put an End to *Moteczuma's* sacrificing Men, shedding human Blood, and proceeding in his tyrannical Government ; that he had occasion for about two hundred *Tamemes*, or Carriers of Burdens, and some fighting Men." He also summon'd the Lords of the Mountain Country, and confederate Towns, and told them, " That they were to furnish Men for finishing of the Church, the Fort, and other Structures at *Villa Rica*, and to supply the Soldiers that were left behind with Provisions ;" Then taking *John de Escalante* by the Hand, he said, " This is my Brother, and you are to do what he orders, and if the *Mexican* Soldiers are troublesome, he will assist you." They all very willingly promis'd to obey his Commands, and then persum'd *John de Escalante* with Gum Anime, as their Commander. *Cortes* made a good Choice in him, because he was a discreet Man, fit for any Business, and much devoted to him, for which Reason he gave him that Employment, that he might be safe, in case any thing were attempted by *James Velasquez*, during his Absence.

WHEN *Cortes* had thus dispos'd his Affairs in order to march to *Mexico*, Advice was brought from *Villa Rica*, that there were some Ships on the Coast, which a little alarm'd him, because it might be some Hindrance to his Enterprize, and therefore he resolv'd to return to that Town, that in case any thing were design'd against him, he might the better defend himself, when his Forces were all together, and he present. As soon as arriv'd,

riv'd, he was inform'd, that the Chief Alguazil
John de Escalante, who had gone out to know, who
 those were, sent Word it was a Ship come from
 the Northward, having run along the Coast of
Panuco, and barter'd for Provisions, and about the
 Value of three thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold;
 that the Men did not like that Country; that they
 were sent by *Francis de Garay*, from *Jamaica*, un-
 der the Command of Captain *Alonso Alvarez Pineda*;
 and that tho' he had sent a Boat to invite him to come
 to an Anchor in the Port, and refresh himself, he
 would not do it. Hereupon *Cortes* resolv'd to advance
 with a Number of Men towards the Place where the
 Ship lay, being desirous to know upon what Design
 it came thither, since it was not possible that *Francis*
de Garay should be ignorant of his coming into those
 Parts. When he had march'd about a League from the
 Town, he met three *Spaniards*, one of whom said he
 was a Notary, and the other two Witnesses, to notify
 to him something which they had in Writing, and re-
 quire him to part the Country with *Francis de Garay*,
 laying down Land Marks in proper Places, because he
 claim'd that Conquest, as first Discoverer, and design'd
 to settle a Colony on that Coast, twenty Leagues to
 the Westward, near *Nautlam*, which was afterwards
 call'd *Almeria*. *Cortes* mildly told them, that before
 they notify'd any thing to him, they must return to
 the Ships, and desire the Captain to repair to *Vera Cruz*,
 where they would discourse on that Subject, and his
 Meaning would be better understood, besides that, if
 he was in Want of any thing, they might be supply'd,
 They answer'd, that no Man would come ashore.
Francis Lopez de Gomara seems to intimate, that *Francis*
de Garay was there himself, and that there were more
 Ships than one; but *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, as an
 Eye Witness, and others that were present, do deny
Garay's

Garay's being present, affirming that *Alonso Alvarez Pineda* came in his stead, and that there was but one Ship. *Cortes* secur'd the Notary and his Witnesses, and lay himself in Ambush behind a Sand Hill, there being many on that Shore, where he stay'd that Night, and waited a great Part of the next Day, to observe whether any Body came ashore. None appearing, he order'd three of his Men to change Cloaths with those that belong'd to *Garay*, and to make a West to the Ship, whence they immediately sent the Boat, with twelve Men, arm'd with Cross-Bows, and Muskets. *Cortes's* Men to prevent being known went aside under the Shade of some Trees. They in the Boat sent ashore two Cross-Bow Men, two Musketeers, and an *Indian*, who made towards the Trees, thinking those three that were in the Shade had been their Men. *Cortes* immediately rush'd out, and seiz'd those five, before they could return to the Boat, tho' they pretended to stand upon their Defence, and one of them presented his Piece at Captain *John de Escalante*, but it miss'd Fire. Those in the Boat finding they were impos'd upon, return'd to their Ship, and sail'd away, so that *Cortes* was eas'd of that Trouble by his Diligence in applying the Remedy. The seven Men belonging to *Garay* inform'd him, that they had sail'd far along the Shore in Quest of *Florida*, and touch'd at a River, and Province whose Lord was call'd *Panuco*, where they found some Gold, but little, and barter'd, without going ashore, for the Value of three thousand Pieces of Eight, and a considerable Quantity of Provisions; but that they had lik'd nothing in those Parts they had seen.

Cortes then return'd to *Zempoala*, resolving to lose no Time before he set out for *Mexico*. The *Tamemes*, or Men to carry Burdens, being ready, with the Baggage, and Artillery, as also the Gentlemen of *Zempoala*,
and

and those of the Mountain Towns, whom under the Colour of Supplies, he took along with him as Hostages, leaving a Page of his own of the Age of twelve Years, with the Lord of *Zempoala*, to learn the Language, he set forward on the 16th of *August*, the Lord, and several other Prime Persons waiting on him, of whom he took leave at a small Distance from the Town, in a very affectionate Manner, and with Tokens of an entire Confidence in them. The *Indians* wept, considering the Danger they were going into, tho' they rely'd on the Valour of the *Spaniards*, who were four hundred in Number, besides fifteen or sixteen Horsemen, and six small Pieces of Cannon, with the Ammunition belonging to them. The March began in good Order; they arriv'd the first Day at *Xalapa*, and thence proceeded to another Town, which being both confederate with *Zempoala*, made them a good Reception. There *Cortes* told them, he was sent by the King of *Spain*, to admonish them to give over sacrificing of Men, and following the other wicked Courses they were guilty of, and to live in Peace, and Justice, and to chastise Tyrants. He erected a Cross in every Town, ordering them to pay respect to it, for, as they should be afterwards better inform'd, through that holy Emblem they were to expect all Happiness in this World, and in the next. He proceeded to *Texmtla*, still of the same Confederacy, where he spoke to the same Effect to the Heads of the People, and they entertain'd him affectionately. Here for Want of Care a little Colt that follow'd the Mares was left behind, and about a Year and a half after, they found him grown a good Horse, among a Herd of Deer, with whom he had always associated, as the *Indians* affirm'd. They then came into the Desert Country, where they met with much Cold, Hail, and Rain, a sharp Wind blowing from the snowy Mountains. All the Men
endur'd

endur'd very much, for there was also Want of Provisions. They march'd through another Pass, where there were Country Houses, small Places of Worship with Idols, and great Piles of Wood ready cut for the Service of the Temples. The Cold continu'd, and there was still very small Store of Provisions, which the Men bore with wonderful Patience, tho' the Cold pinch'd them, because they were thin clad, and us'd to the temperate Climate of *Cuba*, *Zempoala*, and the Sea Coast.

THEY next came into the Territory of a Town call'd *Zocotlan*, subject to the King of *Mexico*. *Cortes* sent two *Zempoalans* before, to desire those People in his Name, that they would be pleas'd to quarter his Forces, and at the same Time held them in a Readiness for all Events, because this was now a different Sort of Country from the former. When they came in Sight of the Town, the Terrasses on the Houses, the Lord's Palace, and the Towers of the Temples were very white; and because they made a good Appearance, and a *Portuguese* Soldier, said, that was like the Town of *Castel Blanco* in *Portugal*, they gave it that Name. The Lord was call'd *Olintel*, whom the *Spaniards* nicknam'd the Trembler, or Quaker, because he was very fat. The two strongest young Gentlemen in his Family led him by the Arms. He order'd the Men to have Provisions given them, but not plentifully, nor with a good Will. *Cortes* by Means of his Interpreters, who daily grew more expert, talk'd to him, as he was wont to do to the others, and he was pleas'd to hear those Things which were so strange to him. *Cortes* observing with what State he was serv'd, ask'd him, whether he was a Confederate or Subject to the King of *Mexico*. He answer'd, asking, Who was not a Slave to *Motexuma*? *Cortes* reply'd, That beyond the Sea there was a greater Sovereign, being the King

242 The HISTORY of *America*.

Of *Spain*, whom many Princes serv'd, that he himself was one of the meanest Subjects he had, and that the Lord ought to submit himself, and give some Demonstration that he did so. He rejoyn'd, he would do nothing but what *Moteczuma* should command him. *Cortes* did not think fit to carry on this Discourse any farther, looking upon that Lord and his People as Men of Resolution; but desir'd he would tell him something of *Moteczuma's* Grandeur. The Lord said, " He was
 " Sovereign over many Kings, that there was not the
 " like of him in the World; that many Lords serv'd
 " him in his Palace barefooted, with their Eyes fix'd
 " on the Ground; that there were thirty Subjects in
 " his Empire, every one of which had one hundred
 " thousand fighting Men; that he every Year sacrific'd
 " twenty thousand Men in his Dominions, and
 " some Years fifty thousand; that he resided in the
 " largest, the most beautiful, and the strongest City
 " in the Universe, being built in the Water, and having
 " above fifty thousand *Acales*, so the *Mexicans*
 " call'd the Canoes, for the Service of it; that his Palace
 " and Court was very great, noble, and generous;
 " that many Princes of all the Country round about
 " continually resorted to it to serve him; that his
 " Wealth and Revenues were incredible, because none
 " tho' ever so great was exempt from paying Tribute
 " to him, nor any so poor as not to give something,
 " tho' it were only some Blood from his Arm; that
 " his Expences were prodigious, because besides those
 " of his Household, he had continual Wars, and maintain'd great Armies."

As the Relation of this Grandeur daunted some, reflecting how inconsiderable their Forces were, so it rejoyn'd *Cortes*, who very well knew how to turn all Things to his own Advantage. Accordingly he said to his People, That, in order to be great themselves, they

they look'd for Grandeur, not for Poverty, and that he prais'd God, that the Accounts he had, and the Pains he had taken to be well inform'd of what *Mexico* was, and what might be expected from it, had not prov'd vain, or frivolous. Two Lords of the adjacent Parts came, and each of them presented *Cortes* with four Women Slaves, and two Gold Collars of no great Value. He return'd them Thanks, and they departed. *Olintel* was Lord of twenty thousand People, had thirty Wives in his House, and above one hundred Women to wait on them, and two thousand Servants. The Town was large, and contain'd thirteen Temples and Places of Worship, with abundance of Idols made of Stone, of divers Shapes, to whom they apply'd upon several Occasions. They sacrific'd to them Men, Women, Children, Doves, Turtles, and other Things, burning many Sweets, with great Veneration. *Moteczuma* had five thousand Men in Garison in this Town, and its Territory; and Men were ready two and two, at small Distances all the Way to *Mexico*, being Foot Posts, to carry an Account of all Things that hapned. *Cortes* was now thoroughly confirm'd in the Notion he had conceiv'd of the Grandeur of *Moteczuma*, and tho' some about him were always giving Hints of the Difficulty of the Undertaking, and the Danger he expos'd himself to, he never show'd the least Hesitation, or Wavering; but on the contrary, with an undaunted Mind and Intrepidity encourag'd his People, solving all Difficulties, and assuring them of the Success, with as much Firmness, as if he had it in his Power, foreseeing all Exigencies with wonderful Sagacity and Discretion. *Olintel* seem'd to grow better affected, and made more plentiful Provision for the Men upon the Discourse he had with *Cortes*, tho' he said, he knew not whether *Moteczuma* would be displeas'd at his having entertain'd them without his Leave. *Cortes* find-

ing him more courteous, began to talk of some Matters of Religion, and would have had a Cross erected, as had been done in the other Towns; but *F. Olmedo* did not think it proper, for Fear of some Irreverence, till they were better inform'd in Point of Religion. *Francis de Lugo*, a Man of Note, had with him a very large Greyhound that bark'd very much in the Night. The Gentlemen of that Town ask'd those of *Zempoala*, whether that was a Tyger, or a Lion, or other Beast to kill Men; they answer'd, it was a Beast under good Command, and did bite and kill whensoever the Master pleas'd. They told them, that the great Guns kil'd whom they would with some Stones they threw into them; and that the Horses ran like Stags, and overtook whom they pleas'd, none being able to escape them; that those were the Men who conquer'd the People of *Tabasco*, threw down their Idols, and made them Friends with their Neighbours; that *Moteczuma* had sent them Presents, because he look'd upon them as Gods, and therefore they wonder'd why *Olintetl* made them no Present; whereupon he immediately sent *Cortes* four Head Ornaments, three Collars, and some Lizards all of Gold, a Load of Cotton Cloth, and four Women Slaves, which were taken to make Bread. In this Town there was a Charnel, containing Abundance of Skuls and Bones of Men that had been sacrific'd, as was afterwards seen in all other Towns, after the same Manner as at *Mexico*, which shall be describ'd in its Place.

Cortes stay'd nine Days with *Olintetl*, to rest his Men, and having given him a Present of his Toys, which was much valu'd, began to consult, which Way he should travel to *Mexico*. *Olintetl* said the best and plainest Way would be through a Town call'd *Cholula*. The *Zempoalans* oppos'd it, alledging that those People were very treacherous, and had always

Garison;

Garifons belonging to *Motexuma*; whereas the *Tlafcallans* were his Enemies, and good People, for which Reason that would be the better Way. *Cortes* demanded of the Lord twenty Soldiers to be his Guides, as being well acquainted with the Country; which were readily given, and with them he set out towards *Tlafcala*. As soon as he came to a Town call'd *Xacacingo*, he sent four *Zempoalans* to *Tlafcala* with a Letter, and a *Flemish* red woolly Hat, and tho' he was sensible that they understood not the Letter, he thought they would at least conclude it to be a Message, that they might not do any Harm to the Messengers; for it was known, that the *Tlafcallans*, being inform'd that the *Spaniards* were marching towards them, and that they brought with them some *Indians* that were Tributaries to *Motexuma*, as the *Zempoalans*, and those of *Olintetl*, had taken up Arms. *Cortes* order'd the Messengers to tell the Gentlemen of *Tlafcala*, that he had been inform'd by the Lord of *Zempoala*, and the neighbouring Towns, his Friends and Confederates, of the bloody Wars they had so justly wag'd with *Motexuma*, who had done them many Wrongs; that he was sent by a very mighty Prince, in the first Place to bring them to the Knowledge of the true God, and at the same Time to deliver them from the Oppression of the *Mexican Cuihas*; that he sent them that Hat, and with it a Sword, and a Cross-Bow, that they might see with what powerful Weapons he design'd to assist them. This he did because he had heard how much a Cross-Bow, and other *Spanish* Weapons had been admir'd at *Mexico*. *Cortes* sent this Embassy by the Advice of the *Zempoalans*, who said, the *Tlafcallans* were numerous, and very warlike, Enemies to *Motexuma*, and would easily be brought into the Confederacy of the *Totonaques*. *Cortes* thought not proper to omit this Message, since he hazarded nothing in so doing, and

and had till then found the *Zempoalans* sincere; and at this Place he began to be more fully inform'd of the Affairs of *Tlascala*.

THE Messengers came to *Tlascala*, carrying the usual Token by which those were known who went upon an Embassy. They gave Notice at the Gate, were receiv'd there, and conducted to the Town-House, where Meat was given them. The Council met, the *Zempoalans* were call'd in, and order'd to speak. When they had made the usual Compliments to the Council, one of them deliver'd himself thus. "Very valiant
"and great Lords, and noble Gentlemen, the Gods
"preserve, and give you Victory against your Enemies; the Lord of *Zempoala*, and the *Totonagues*
"recommend themselves to you, and acquaint you,
"that certain *Teuks* of great Strength and Courage are
"arriv'd there from the Eastern Parts, in very large
"*Acales*, who have assisted, and set them at Liberty
"against *Motexuma's* Forces. They say they are Subjects of a potent King; that they will pay you a
"Visit from him; that they bring you the true God,
"will assist you against your antient and mortal Enemy, and that you may be sensible of their Strength,
"we bring you these Arms, and this Letter, and Token. Our *Zempoalans* say it will be convenient for
"you to make them your Friends, because tho' they
"are but few in Number, they are worth many." Having receiv'd the Hat, the Letter, and the Arms, *Maxiscatzin*, one of the Lords of the Republick, bid them sit down, and said they were welcome, that they thank'd the *Totonagues* for their Advice, and were glad of their Liberty; that they were also thankful to that great *Teule* for his good Will and Present; that as for them they might rest and divert themselves, because it requir'd Time for them to come to a Resolution. Hereupon the *Zempoalans* withdrew, abundance
of

of People flocking thither to enquire what they came about; and they recounting what they had seen of the Valour of the *Spaniards*, of their Behaviour, and their Weapons, describing the Horses, and all the Rest, and magnifying every Thing, all those People were amaz'd, and more especially such as compar'd those Things with the Prophecies they had, and in regard that some Prodigies had lately hapned, as Earthquakes, Comets which ran across the Sky, and the Falling of some Idols, which frightened and afflicted them, and therefore they had much Recourse to Sacrifices.

THE Lords of the Commonwealth being left by themselves, when they had paid the Compliments us'd in that Country, *Maxiscatzin*, a Man of much Wisdom, sedate, noble, and well belov'd, made a very eloquent Speech, advising to receive the *Spaniards* in friendly Manner; but *Xicotencatl*, who was General of the Army, was for opposing them.

THIS Diversity of Opinions occasion'd much Muttering, the Traders, and peaceable People being of *Maxiscatzin*'s Mind, and the Soldiers siding with *Xicotencatl*; whereupon *Temilotecatl*, another of the four principal Lords, said, "He was of Opinion, that
" Embassadors should be sent to the Commander of
" those new People, to tell him, that he should be
" well receiv'd in that City; and that in the mean
" Time, since they had Troops in Readiness, *Xicotencatl* should advance towards him with the *Otomies*,
" and try what those were whom some call'd Gods;
" and if he vanquish'd them, *Tlascala* would gain eternal Honour; but if not, the Blame should be laid
" upon the *Otomies*, as a barbarous and rash People." This Advice being generally approv'd of, was order'd to be put in Execution. The *Zempoalan* Messengers were then call'd in, and told, that they were resolv'd to receive those *Tenles* in friendly Manner; but at the
same

same Time they detain'd and secur'd them under Colour of a Sacrifice, to gain Time for their General to march out against *Cortes*, and to return their Answer, according to the Event, which could not be long; because their Troops had been got ready upon the first Landing of those Strangers; and for as much as the Imprisoning of Embassadors was among those Nations look'd upon as a most villainous Action, it will not be amiss here to mention how they us'd to receive and entertain them.

EMBASSADORS, according to the Law of Nations, were treated with so much Respect throughout all *New-Spain*, that tho' those People were the most revengeful of any in the World, they honour'd the Embassadors of their mortal Enemies, as if they had been Deities; choosing rather to transgress any of their Religious Rites than to injure them, because they rely'd on their Faith, and that ought not to fail on any Account. It was the Custom of Embassadors when they travell'd, that they might be known in their Enemies Country, to wear each of them a very fine Mantle rowl'd up from End to End, and wrapp'd about their Body, with two Knots on the Shoulders; about a Span's Length coming out beyond the Knot; and he was to have this Mantle on when he deliver'd his Embassy. Besides this he had on another coarser, so folded, that it form'd a Lump or Knob rowl'd, and it hung by a small Cord thrown over his Breast and Shoulders. In his Right Hand he held an Arrow by the Point, the Feather up; and in the left a small Target, and a Net containing as much Provision as would serve him to the Place, where he was to deliver his Embassy. When he enter'd upon an Enemy's Country, he was to keep the strait Road, without deviating from it, on Pain of forfeiting the Liberty and Privilege of an Embassador, and being condemn'd to Death.

Death. When he came to the Town, where he was to deliver his Message, he halted, was known, and the Officers of the Lord he was going to went out to receive him. They order'd him to repose himself in the *Calpisca*, being the publick Town-House, where he was entertain'd suitably to the Quality of the Lord that sent him. The Lord of the Place was inform'd that a Messenger was come, and he presently order'd him to be brought, to hear what he had to say. He went very compos'd, silent, and considering how he should deliver himself, being attended by the prime Men of the Household, with Roses in their Hands, which they gave him. Being come to the Palace, he advanc'd very slowly, looking down on the Ground, to the Place where the King or Lord sat in his greatest Majesty, and having made profound Obeysance, crouch'd down on his Hams, in the Middle of the Hall or Chamber, his Feet close together, and gathering up the Mantle, which cover'd him all over. The Lord made a Sign for him to speak, and then after another Obeysance, he with a low Voice, his Eyes fix'd on the Ground, many Compliments, and very florid Language, which they made much Account of, deliver'd his Message. The Lord, and his chief Ministers heard him, sitting, after their Manner, on little low Stools, made of one Piece of Wood, which they call *Topales*, being very attentive, and their Heads hanging down, so that their Mouths were on their Knees. When the Message was deliver'd, if the Embassador came not from some very great Prince, no Answer was return'd till the next Day. Some Persons went to bear him Company to the *Calpisca*, where he was furnish'd with Necessaries, and in the mean Time the Lord advis'd with Council, what Answer to return, and that was not done by himself, but by one of them. When he had receiv'd the Answer, they put into his Net the

Provision for his Journey, and it was customary to give him some Presents, which he receiv'd, if his Lord had not forbid it, for if he was Embassador from a Friend, it was an Affront to the Lord that gave, not to receive them; and if from an Enemy, he could not do it without his Master's Leave. The same Persons that had conducted him to the *Calpisca*, waited on him out of the Town, where after many Compliments, they dismiss'd him. Embassadors from some Republick, or Province, never went alone, but there were at least four of them, and Persons of much Authority, Discretion, and Eloquence, to the End that whether they were for Peace, or War, their Words might have the more Weight, and they compass what they design'd.

EIGHT Days were pass'd since *Cortes* sent the *Zempoalans* to *Tlascala*, and they return'd not. He ask'd, those Gentlemen that went with him, what made them stay so long? They answer'd, It was likely they did not dispatch them, for the more Grandeur and Ostentation; for which Reason, and because they gave him great Assurances of the Friendship of the *Tlascallans*, he resolv'd to advance with his Forces. At the End of the Vale he found a great Wall of dry Stone, a Fathom and a half high, twenty Foot broad, with a Parapet of two Spans all along, to fight on it. This Wall reach'd across the whole Valley from one Mountain to the other, having only one Entrance ten Paces wide, and there was a double Enclosure before the other, in the Nature of a Ravelin, about forty Paces in Length, thus it was so strong, that had there been any to defend it, the *Spaniards* would have had enough to do to force their Way through. *Cortes* halted to view it, and was a considerable Time examining every Part, to see whether there was any Ambush. He ask'd, what was the Design, and who had built it? They told him, that *Yztacmichtitlan*, who attended him so far, to

settle

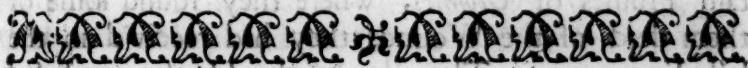
settle the Borders between himself, and the *Tlascallans*, and oppos'd their Entering his Country, tho' they were then Friends. By this *Cortes* was convinc'd of the general Notion conceiv'd of the Valour of the *Tlascallans*, since so great a Work had been erected to oppose them. The Workmanship of that Wall was much admir'd, because it was very artificially done, without any Mixture of Plaister, or Clay. The Lord of that Wall being still near by, and observing that they had taken Notice of it, thought they had been afraid to go any farther, and came back to entreat him not to pass that Way, and he would show him another safer, among the Subjects of *Moteczuma*, for that he fear'd the *Tlascallans* would do him some Harm. The *Zempoalans* persisted to advise the contrary, saying, the others Advice was malicious, to divert him from the Confederacy of that brave Nation, who being once made Friends there would be no Occasion to stand in Awe of *Moteczuma*. *Cortes* was distracted by this Variety of Counsels, but at length adher'd to the Opinion of the *Zempoalans*, whom he knew to mean sincerely, and because he would not be thought to fear any Thing.

He took Leave of *Yztacmichtitlan*, keeping three hundred of his Men, and enter'd the Enclosure towards *Tlascala*, his Men marching in good Order, and the Artillery ready, still sending out Parties before to prevent any Surprise. When they had advanc'd a League, they came to a very thick Wood of Pine Trees, with abundance of Threads and Papers tangled about the Trees, and crossing the Way, which the *Spaniards* much laugh'd at, and broke many Jest, being inform'd that the Sorcerers had promis'd the *Tlascallans*, that they would stop, and disable them with those Threads and Papers. When he had advanc'd three Leagues from the Wall, *Cortes* sent Orders to his Men to hasten their

March, because it was late, and going forward himself with the Horsemen, as soon as they came to the Top of a Hill, the two that went foremost upon Discovery, fell in with fifteen or sixteen *Indians*, arm'd with their Swords, and Targets, with high Plumes of Feathers standing up, and others hanging down their Backs, who had been posted there to give Intelligence, and as soon as they discover'd the *Spaniards*, ran away, without staying, tho' they much intreated them; but finding that the Horses would overtake them, they drew up all together, and defending themselves fought so desperately that they kill'd two Horses, having almost cut off their Heads, their Swords being edg'd with Flints so fastned to the Wood, that they cut like Razors. The *Indians* retir'd, brandishing their Swords, without showing the least Fear; but *Cortes* spying above five thousand Men in one Body, that were moving to relieve the others, order'd them to be struck through with Spears, which he had forbid before, and sent to the Infantry to hasten forward. Before the Infantry could come up, the afore said Body of *Indians* had reach'd the Horsemen, and having shot their Arrows, began the Fight. The Horsemen stuck many with their Spears, especially those that press'd upon them. As soon as the *Indians* spy'd the *Spanish* Infantry, they retir'd, being much frighted at the Horses, saying, those Stags were bigger than theirs, and more swift, and that it was by Inchantment that the *Spaniards* rode on them. When the Body of *Indians* was withdrawn, two of the *Zempoala* Messengers that *Cortes* had sent to *Tlascala* return'd, with some Presents from the Republick, who said, they were sorry for the Rudeness of those barbarous People, who were some Towns of *Otomies*, that had committed such a Disorder, without Leave; tho' they were glad they had been chastis'd as they deserv'd; that the Republick was desirous to see,

know,

know, and serve him in their Town, and if they would have them pay for the Horses those *Otomies* had kill'd, they would immediately send Gold, and Jewels. Tho' *Cortes* was sensible of the Falsehood of the Messengers, he thank'd them for their kind Offer, adding, he would soon be with them ; and suppressing his Concern for that the *Indians* had found the Horses to be mortal, said, he would take no Pay for them, because he should soon have many more brought him from the same Place where those had been bred. The *Otomies* were subject to the Republick of *Tlascala*, having their Towns in Bottoms, and their Scouts on the Hills, who when they discover'd any Strangers made Fires to give Notice from one Place to another, and the People assembled to defend themselves.



C H A P. II.

Four Battles fought between the Spaniards, and the Tlascallans ; a single Combat between a Zempoalan, and a Tlascallan.



THE *Tlascallan* Embassadors return'd Home, carrying off about seventy *Indians* that had been kill'd in the aforesaid Action, to bury them ; and *Cortes* order'd the dead Horses to be interr'd, that the *Indians* seeing them lye in the Field, might not be daily put in Mind that they could kill the rest. The Army was then, as has been said, within the Territories of *Tlascala*, and all

254 *The HISTORY of America.*

all that Province from *Villa Rica* to the said Territories, was call'd *Cotasta*; which tho' large, was not populous, because *Motezuma* had some Time before destroy'd it, on Account of its not submitting to him. The Country is like *Andaluzia* in *Spain*, fat, hot, and fruitful, having many fresh and good Waters, which produce much Fish; many Forests of wild Trees; Poplar Groves, with wild Vines running up them, and other Sorts. It is about thirty Leagues over, to the Passes, which are uncooth, and cold, the Snow lying in some of them, many Pine Trees, and Oaks, bearing bigger Leaves and smaller Acorns than those in *Spain*. At Sun-setting, *Cortes* encamp'd near a Brook, on a convenient and strong Spot of Ground, and they kept Guard by an hundred at a Time. Having been undisturb'd that Night, the next Day they came to certain Houses of *Otomies*, where they found some of them dead of the Wounds they had receiv'd in the last Encounter. They burnt the Houses, and for Want of better Provisions, fed upon *Tunas*, a Sort of Fruit that Country produces, because they saw the *Indians* eat them. The next Day *Cortes* held on his Way, and being come to a bad Pass, which was a deep Hollow, commanded every Way by Hills, before they began to pass, a Dog bark'd; *Lares*, a Smith, and an able Horseman made up to the Place, kill'd two *Indians* he met, and the rest fled. Here the other two *Zempoalan* Messengers *Cortes* had sent to *Tlascala* came sweating, lamenting, much abus'd, and in such a Fright that they could scarce speak. They prostrated themselves on the Ground, laid hold of *Cortes's* Feet, and said, the wicked *Tlascallans*, breaking through the Immunities of Embassies, had bound them to be sacrific'd to the God of Victory, that they unbinding one another that Night, had made their Escape, and that they intended

tended to sacrifice all the *Spaniards* in the same Manner.

SOON after the Arrival of the *Zempoalans*, when they had march'd little above half a Quarter of a League, about one thousand *Indians* well arm'd appear'd on a little Hill, who attack'd the *Spaniards*, according to their Custom, with great Cries, and Volleys of Darts, Stones, and Arrows. *Cortes* by Means of the Interpreters, desir'd them to be quiet, because he was for Peace, signifying the same to them in solemn Manner. Perceiving they did not forbear, he fell on, and they artfully gave Way, retiring, till they drew the *Spaniards* into an Ambush of thirty thousand, that lay up the Brook in certain little Hollows that were by the Pass.

THE *Spaniards* were in a desperate Condition, by reason of the Multitude of their Enemies, who charg'd them where they had not Room to stir; but the Encouragement given by *Cortes* avail'd very much, telling them, they now fought for their Lives, and did no Wrong to those that had attack'd them without any Cause. Here *Tenuch*, one of the Noblemen of *Zempoala*, told *Marina*, he saw the Death of them all before his Eyes, for it was impossible that one Man should get off alive. *Marina* bid him not to fear, because the God of the Christians, who was very powerful, and lov'd them, would deliver them out of that Danger. Not long after those Words had been spoken, the *Spaniards* and their Confederate *Indians* fighting manfully, to avoid being sacrific'd, got out of that Streight, where the *Tlascalans* behav'd themselves in such furious Manner that several of them came to close in with the *Spaniards*, and others laid hold of the Horsemen's Spears, as they rode before to make Way for the Foot, and the Confederate *Indians* stood to it leaping into the Water. *Cortes* every now and

and then turn'd to the Infantry, and bid them remember, that the Planting of the Faith of JESUS CHRIST, which it was their Duty to promote, depended on the Preservation of their Persons; that they might expect very great Rewards, besides, that being *Spaniards*, they ought not to despond, or flinch, which their Nation never did. At length, with much Difficulty, they extricated themselves from among those Hollows, and Brooks, and got into the Plain Fields, where the Horses having Room to run, and the Cannon to play, terrify'd the *Indians*, and kill'd many, so that not being able to endure it, they retir'd to a rising Ground, and there fortify'd themselves. This Day some *Spaniards* were wounded, but not one kill'd; and many *Indians* dy'd upon the Spot, as did others afterwards of their Wounds. The *Spaniards* rejoyc'd wonderfully, and with loud Voices return'd Thanks to God, for having deliver'd them out of that Danger, nor was there less Myrth among the *Indians* their Friends, who embracing the *Spaniards*, congratulated their Escape. The Gentleman of *Zempoala*, commending *Marina*, related her Prediction, and she declar'd, she had never been afraid, confiding, that the God of the Christians would protect them. The Drums, Trumpets, and Fifes in the Army all sounded, and the Confederate *Indians* play'd on their Instruments, dancing, and singing for the Victory, the Enemy beholding all those Tokens of Joy.

THIS was the Posture of Affairs, when an *Indian* who commanded in one Part of the Enemy's Army, making Signals of Peace, came down to the Place where *Cortes* was, with some of his prime Men about him, and said, That Experience had convinc'd him, that he and his were invincible, and immortal Gods, therefore he desir'd him, that the War might cease, and he would prevail with the Commanders on his Side,

Side, that they should be reconcil'd, and permit him to enter into *Tlascala*. Cortes chearfully answer'd, that he had already offer'd them his Friendship, and tho' he had sufficient Cause to do it, he would not render Evil for Evil, but act according to God's Precept, and be their Friend. That Commander went back to the *Tlascallans*, who beat him so unmercifully, that he was much bruise'd. He return'd to Cortes, saying, those wicked Men would destroy him. Cortes order'd he should be dress'd, and warn'd him, that since they were to engage again with his Countrymen, he should stand apart, with a Token he gave him, that he might not be hurt. Some went out to skirmish on both Sides, and there were notable Actions. Among the rest, one of the four *Zempoala Indians*, whom Cortes had sent on his Embassy to *Tlascala*, knowing a Captain, who in that City had seiz'd, bound, and abus'd him, and looking on it as an heinous Offence, Embassadors being so much respected in those Parts as has been said, ask'd Leave of Cortes to challenge him, who embrac'd, commended, encourag'd, and allow'd of the Challenge, directing a *Spaniard*, to draw near when they were engag'd, to the End that if his *Indian* should be in Danger of being worsted, he might not perish. The Fight was begun in the Sight of both Armies, laying on with their Swords, and warding off with their Targets; but in Conclusion, the *Zempoalan* kill'd the *Tlascallan*, and cut off his Head, the Confederate *Indians* celebrating the Victory with mighty Cries, and a prodigious Noise of their Horns, and Trumps, of which they had a vast Number; and the *Spaniards* perceiving that Cortes rejoyc'd at it, as looking upon that as an happy Prefage of his future Victories, sounded their Trumpets, and beat their Drums. Between the two Armies was a very narrow and dangerous Pass, which the *Tlascallans* defended, and the *Spaniards*

niards were of Necessity to march that Way. *James de Ordas* offer'd to gain it with sixty *Spaniards*. He boldly clos'd with the Enemy, pushing them, and gaining Ground, tho' Showers of Arrows fell on him and his Men. At length he gain'd the Pass, and then the Horses were led through. This was a very singular Action, in which he show'd much Valour, and Resolution, because there was an infinite Number of *Indians*, and the Showers of Arrows fell so thick, that it requir'd very much Bravery to attempt such an Enterprize with the sixty chosen Men he had, whose Conduct was much to be admir'd, for keeping to their close Order, their Targets lifted up, and equally covering them, they advanc'd without breaking their Order, till they had obtain'd the Victory.

THE *Tlascallans* having lost that Pass, which had been thought so proper to be defended, thinking they had no more Business there, left the Field, and march'd clear off; and the *Spaniards* being very well pleas'd at it, that they might be still advancing, went and took up their Quarters in a little Town that stood on an Eminence, call'd *Tecozizimco*, where there was a Temple with a little Tower, which was afterwards with much Reason, call'd of *Victory*. They with extraordinary Diligence made Baracks of Boughs and Straw, the *Indians* their Friends working at it, with much Alacrity, because *Cortes* very dextrously pleas'd them, and they were ready to serve upon all Occasions, on that Account, and to avoid falling into the Hands of their Enemies. All that Night, being the first of *September*, strict Watch was kept, and *Cortes* himself was upon the Guard, with the third Part of his Men at the Morning Watch, which was most apprehended, but no Enemy appear'd, because it was not their Custom to fight in the Night. The next Day *Cortes* thought fit to send Messengers to desire the *Tlascallans*, to per-

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mit him to proceed freely on his Way, since it was not his Design to do them any Harm, nor was he going to join in Confederacy against them with the King of *Mexico*, but only to perform what his Master the King of *Spain* had commanded him. In the mean Time, leaving *Peter de Alvarado* with half of the Forces, he march'd out with the other half, and the Horsemen. He burnt four or five Towns, and return'd with four hundred Prisoners, and no Loss, tho' the Enemy charg'd him all the Way to his Quarters, where he was told, that the *Tlascallan* Commanders had answer'd to his Message, that they would go the next Day to see, and tell him their Minds. This bold Answer, and the Advice *Cortes* had receiv'd that one hundred and fifty thousand Men were assembled, made him put his Forces into such a Posture that he might not be surpriz'd.

Cortes either by fair or by foul Means resolv'd to be inform'd by the most rational of the Prisoners about all Things that were convenient for him to know, and they answer'd, That since they were his Prisoners, and so well us'd, they would tell him the Truth. They declar'd that the Army was compos'd of *Otomies* and *Tlascallans*, all Subjects to the Republick of *Tlascala*, tho' they did not care to have it known that the Commonwealth made the War, because they would not have it thought, if they should be vanquish'd, that it had been by their Authority; that they hated him because they imagin'd he was going to be a Friend to their mortal Enemy *Moteczuma*, and therefore they were agreed never to give over till they had conquer'd the *Spaniards*, and sacrific'd them to their Gods, and then made a solemn Banquet of them, which they call'd Heavenly; that the War was carry'd on at the particular Instigation of *Xicotencatl*, the General of the Republick, who carry'd its Standard, which was a

Golden Eagle, with its Wings display'd, and much Enamel, and other Ornaments, and that he would see it the next Day in the Rear of their Army, because they were to fight; for in Time of Peace it went before; that they were about one hundred and fifty thousand Men, most of them Archers, who were very good Marks-men, when they lay in Hollows, or on the Ridges of Hills; that they were very much afraid of the Thunder, and of the great running Stags, and were amaz'd at the dreadful Wounds their Swords had made.

THE great *Tlascallan* Army appear'd, the General's Standard was seen, and the number of Men was so great, that they cover'd the whole Plain, all of them painted, and with great Plumes of Feathers, arm'd after their Manner with Bows, and Arrows, Slings, and Javelings, which they cast with Leather Strops, so strongly, and with such Dexterity, that they would pierce a Door, and was the Weapon the *Spaniards* most dreaded; long Spears, and Swords edg'd with Flint, as also Targets, Clubs, Head-Pieces, wooden Gantlets and Greves, cover'd with Deer's Skins gilt, Cotten Armour for the Body, a Finger thick, which they call'd *Escapiles*, worn afterwards by the *Spaniards*, who found them useful against the Arrows, and convenient in the Toils they underwent, not being able to endure Armour of Steel, or Iron. They likewise made Use of the *Indian* Targets, their own being soon spoilt with often fighting, and those were very lightly, made of Wood and Leather, adorn'd with Feathers, and others of Reeds, and Cotton, being the best because they did not split. The Army march'd very orderly, divided into Barallions, not in Rank and File, but crowded together, and every Barallion had Horns, and Kettle-Drums, which was an extraordinary Sight, for the *Spaniards* had never beheld so great an Army since they discover'd the *Indies*.

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The Enemy halted very near the *Spaniards*, with a deep Trench or Slough between them. *Cortes* shew'd himself highly pleas'd at the Sight of them, and told his Men, that God gave them that Opportunity for his greater Glory, and the Honour of the *Spanish* Nation, which would strike a Terror not only into *Moteczuma*, but into all that World. The *Tlascallans* being highly pleas'd with so great and mighty an Army, encourag'd by the small Number of the *Spaniards*, puff'd up with their usual Success against their Enemies, very loftily said, "Who are these few conceited Fellows, that design to enter our Country against our Will? But that they may not think we had rather starve them out, than subdue them by Force of Arms, let us send them something to eat, for they are hungry, and weary, that they may be more palatable to us when sacrific'd." They sent three hundred Turkeys, two hundred Baskets of Cakes of *Zentli*, which they call *Tamales*, being about two hundred Arrobas, that is, fifty hundred Weight of Bread, which was an extraordinary Supply for the *Spaniards*, considering the the Distress they were in.

WHEN the *Tlascallans* thought the *Spaniards* had eaten, *Xicotentail* in a very haughty manner commanded two thousand Men to go to them, saying, "Go take those Creatures the Sea has spew'd up, and if they defend themselves, kill them; and see that you behave yourselves like brave Men, since you are the Flower of our Army, and are going to fight for the Gods, and for your Country. The two thousand Men boldly pass'd the Slough, and with no less Intrepidity advanc'd to the Tower. The Horsemen went out first to receive them, and the Infantry follow'd, and the *Tlascallans* at the very first Incounter were made sensible of what the *Spanish* Weapons could do. They drew back a little, but return'd with greater Fury, when they

they were fully convinc'd, that those few Men were not to be flighted; such of them as lighted upon the Pass in the Slough, or Quagmire escap'd, all the rest were kill'd. The Commanders of the Army having seen what had hapned, giving a hideous Shout fell on with all their Power, and so boldly, that many of the *Indians* came up to the very Camp, and some enter'd it in spite of those that were left upon the Guard, fighting with the *Spaniards* hand to hand. This prov'd a Day of mighty Danger, by reason of the immense Multitude of the Enemy, for the Fight lasted above four Hours, within and without the Trenches, before they could make room, the *Indians* charging and attacking furiously, till seeing so great a Number kill'd, they began to slacken; being amazed that they kill'd never a *Spaniard*, looking upon that as wonderful, so that they still fought as if they had been angry with themselves; but as it grew late, they retir'd. The *Spaniards* rested that Night the better, because they knew the *Indians* would not fight in the Night, but kept a good Guard. The *Tlascallans* did not look upon themselves as vanquish'd, and how many were kill'd could not be known, because as soon as one fell they carry'd him off and hid him, which was thought to be done to avoid discouraging their own Men, and encouraging the Enemy.

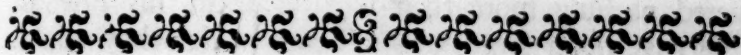
THE next Day *Cortes* march'd out into the Country, burnt some Towns, and plunder'd one that had three thousand Inhabitants, but few Soldiers, because most of them were gone to the Army; however they fought as Men would do for their Houses and Goods, tho' it avail'd them little, for many were kil'd. The Town was fir'd, many Prisoners carry'd away, and the *Spaniards* return'd to their Quarters, at the Time when a great Number of Men were coming to defend that Place, but retir'd immediately for fear of the Guns, and being fatigu'd with the Heat. The next Day the *Tlascallans*

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thinking they could gain more Advantage over the *Spaniards* in narrow Places, in haughty manner sent them Provisions again, as they had done before, wishing they would come out into some streight Place, but finding they did not, they boldly gave the Attack again. They fought five Hours very desperately, without being able to kill, or take one *Spaniard*, which was what they most coveted; but of them a prodigious Number was slain, because as they were throng'd together, the Cannon, the Muskets, and the Cross-bows made very great Havock. At length, being tir'd, fretted, and ashamed that they had not executed their Malice, they retir'd in Confusion, saying, the *Spaniards* must needs be enchanted, since their Weapons did them so little Harm. The next Morning the Commanders sent their Messengers to *Cortes*, who said to him, " Sir, if you are a fierce God, here are five Slaves for you to eat? If you are a good God, we offer you Incense and Feathers? and if you are a Man, take these Fowls, Bread and Cherries, for you and your Men to eat?" Their design was to know, whether the *Spaniards* were Men like themselves, because by reason they had not been able to vanquish them, or kill any one, they concluded they were immortal; and seeing on the other Hand, that they did eat, and do other Things, like Mortals, they were astonish'd. *Cortes*, who never wanted Discretion upon any Occasion, said, They were all mortal Men like themselves, made up of the same Qualifications; but that because they believ'd in and serv'd one only true God, he did and would always assist them; that they should not deal treacherously with him, for all would turn to their Prejudice, and since he did not desire to do them any Harm, but to be their Friend, he advis'd them not to be obstinate. Having deliver'd himself thus mildly, he dismiss'd them, returning Thanks for the Present. The next Day thirty thousand *Ascallans* advanc'd,

advanc'd, being desirous to signalize themselves more than the rest had done, and fought so bravely, that the Battle was more bloody than the former; but at last they went off with Shame; and it is to be observ'd, that for the Space of ten Days the *Spaniards* continu'd in those Quarters, the *Indians* generally supply'd them with Fowl, Bread, and Cherries; only that they might have the Opportunity of viewing its Order and Situation, whether any dead Men were bury'd, or wounded dress'd, and observe how they look'd, or whether they had more or fewer Forces; but the *Spaniards* at the first had no Jealousy of their Design, and on the contrary commended the *Indians* for making War only with their Weapons, for had they cut off their Provisions, the Damage would have been very great. Every Time they carry'd Provisions they said those that fought were the barbarous *Otomies*, and not the *Tlascallans*. In one of these Engagements, a gay *Tlascallan* well arm'd fought so bravely with two *Spaniards*, that he put them to it, till *Lares* the Farrier, crying out, For shame *Spaniards*, clos'd with the *Indian*, who stood boldly, with his Sword, and Target, and striking his Spear into his Breast, kill'd him. The Valour of the *Tlascallans* was so great, and their Multitude so prodigious, that all Men concluded it was rather some divine Assistance, than any human Power that supported the *Spaniards*.





C H A P. III.

The Tlascallans send Spies into the Spanish Army; Cortes marches to Cinpancingo; the Inhabitants offer to make Peace between him, and Tlascala; his Speech to his Soldiers; another Battle, and Peace concluded after it.



THE Distance between the Quarters of the *Spaniards*, and the City of *Tlascala* was but six Leagues, so that the Republick was daily inform'd of every Thing that hapned. The *Tlascallans* being now wholly intent upon seeking revenge of the *Spaniards*, and finding how little they could do by open Force, had recourse to Policy, and in order to it, the more to lull the *Spaniards* into Security, and seem inclin'd to Peace, they sent some Men of note, with Presents of Gold and Feathers, which were very considerable for the City of *Tlascala*, from whence they came. They made great Obeysance to *Cortes*, and the eldest of them told him, That the Republick kiss'd his Hands, and sent that small Present, which was not so inconsiderable for want of good Will, but by reason of the Poverty of their Country, but if he had any other Commands, they would serve him very readily. *Cortes* thinking the Message had been sincere, very pleasantly told them, that tho' he valu'd the Present,

he made more Account of their good Will, and cover'd nothing more than making them his Friends. He gave them some *Spanish* Toys, which they valu'd. The next Day the *Tlascallans* sent fifty Men, who in their Way look'd considerable, brought Provisions, ask'd how the Men did, and what they meant to do. *Cortés* said they were all well, gave Thanks for the Present, and those Men growing familiar walk'd all about the Camp, viewing its Situation, and observing the Weapons, the Habit, and particularly the Horses, pretending to wonder at every thing, tho' in reality the Strangeness of all those Things might well be admir'd by them. *Tenth* the *Zempoalan* Gentleman taking particular Notice of them, told *Cortés*, he did believe those Men to be Spies, and that they had some private Talk with the *Indians* of *Yxtactuchitlan*. Upon this Advice, *Cortés* order'd any one of them to be taken up without being observ'd by the others, whom he examin'd by his Interpreters, using Threats if he did not confess the Truth. He own'd that they had been all sent to discover which way they might best burn the Baracks, to which Purpose they design'd to march with a great Army by Night, thinking that the *Spanish* Guns, Horses, and Weapons were less to be fear'd in the Dark. Others having confirm'd this Account, he caus'd the Hands of seven of those Men, and the Thumbs of some others to be cut off, tho' much against his Inclination, but believing it might be of use for the future, and bid them go tell their General *Xicotencatl*, that he would serve all the Spies that fell into his Hands after that manner, and that he might advance with his Army, for he would always find the *Spaniards* invincible, either by Night, or by Day.

THOSE Men with their Hands cut off, struck a great Consternation among *Xicotencatl's* Forces, believing that the *Spaniards* had some Spirit that disco-

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The HISTORY of America. 267

ver'd their Thoughts to them, for which reason they durst not send any more Spies nor Provisions. *Cortes* being thus inform'd of what was design'd against him, enlarg'd his Trenches, and fortify'd all that was convenient, providing every Thing till Sun-set, when he perceiv'd that the Enemy's Army was advancing to put their Design in Execution; and judging it most expedient not to suffer them to come up to his Quarters, for fear of the Mischief that might happen by Fire, he boldly march'd out to meet them, which he thought would terrify them the more, as believing their Intention had not been known. He caus'd all the Horses to have Breast Plates full of Hawks-bells, that the Noise might make them seem the more, and every Man might hear where his Comrade was, directing they should strike the Enemies on the Faces with their Spears, because they were wont to lay hold of, and snatch them away. Then having told the Soldiers, that they must overcome that Multitude by Dint of Valour, he fell on at the Time when the Spies, whose Hands had been cut off, were relating what had befallen them, which much troubled the General, and all that heard it; but they were much more astonish'd to see themselves so unexpectedly assaulted; so that they instantly dispers'd, and all fled without making any Opposition, over the Corn Fields which extended far thereabouts, and tho' a great Slaughter was made, *Cortes* took Care to put a stop to the Pursuit, for fear they should be drawn into some Place of Disadvantage, and it was very remarkable to behold in what humble, and devout manner they all came back, praising God, for granting them such Victories, in Places unknown to them, and so populous, which was a Demonstration of the divine Assistance, and made them rejoyce, tho' much fatigu'd, and many of them wounded, and without Medicines to dress them, so

268 *The HISTORY of America.*

that for want of Oyl they were forc'd to use the Grease of *Indians* that were kill'd, when they could get it, for, as has been said, those People always endeavour'd to carry off the Bodies of the slain.

THE next Day *Cortes* seeing his Men chearful, said to them, " That since God had till then so visibly
 " assisted them, they would be all very much to
 " blame, if they did not proceed on what they had
 " so well begun, with double Resolution, and to
 " that Purpose it was requisite to press hard upon the
 " *Tlascallans*, to the end they might afterwards prove
 " the surer Friends; for that nothing could be more
 " advantageous to them in *New-Spain*, than to be in
 " Confederacy with that Commonwealth, which was
 " to be compass'd by prosecuting the Victories they
 " had gain'd over them." All the Commanders, and chief Soldiers entirely resign'd themselves to his Will, promising to follow wheresoever he would lead them. *Xicotencatl* being much out of Countenance at the Disasters he had met with against the *Spaniards*, retir'd to *Tlascala*. *Maxiscatzin*, and the other Lords told him, it had been better to have follow'd the first Advice, and sav'd the Lives of so many as had perish'd by the Hands of those brave Men, who were favour'd by their God, and therefore it was in vain to persist obstinately to the Loss of the Reputation of that Republick. *Cortes* seeing no Enemy appear in the open Country, went up to the Top of the Tower of the Temple where his Quarters were, whence he discover'd several Towns, and abundance of Smoaks towards the Mountains. Then coming down he told his Captains he believ'd that to be a large Place, and since no Enemy appear'd it was proper not to lose Time, but to put in Execution what had been agreed on. As soon as it was Night, having before taken an exact View of the Country, he resolv'd to try his Fortune,

tune, and enter'd upon a great Road, with half his Infantry, and all his Horse, judging that Way would lead him to the Smoaks he had seen. Tho' the Darkness of the Night was dreadful, as it was to march at that unusual Hour, in an unknown Country, and without knowing where they should fall in with their Enemies, yet they advanc'd undaunted. They had scarce gone a League, when a Horse fell, *Cortes* order'd him to return to the Quarters, and presently two more fell one after another, and before it was long made up five. The Soldiers begg'd of *Cortes*, for the Love of God to turn back, and do what they design'd by Day, because they look'd upon that as an ill Omen; he with an undaunted Courage, and Intrepidity, pray'd them, for the Love of God, whose Cause they had in Hand not to regard superstitious Observations, but to hold on their Way, since he went himself foremost, and that the Horses might return to the Place from whence they came, for his Mind gave him that they should that Night perform the greatest Enterprize they had ever yet gone about. He had scarce spoke those Words, when his Horse fell, which he wonder'd at, whereupon all his Men, urging, that it was tempting of God, and some that he would ruin all, he with much Generosity, in a severe manner told them, They ought to consider, that great Undertakings were not to be carry'd on without Difficulties; that they should try to march a-foot, leading the Horses, to see what that strange Accident tended to. When they had march'd far after this manner, the Horses were all well, and they could never find what had occasion'd their past Distemper, tho' some fancy'd it might have been some Sorcery of the *Indians*, much practis'd among them; but it was no other than the Cold of the Night which gave them the Gripes.

PROCEEDING thus, till they had lost their Aim at the Mountains, they came into some stony Grounds, from which they extricated themselves with Difficulty, and spying a Fire, made towards it. They found two Men, and two Women in a House, who conducted them to the Mountains where *Cortes* had seen the Smoaks. Before it was Day they came into some Villages, where the Fright was greater than the Hurt, and being inform'd that *Cinpancingo*, a large Town was near by, they soon came to it, the surprize occasioning much Confusion. Some Harm was done at first, but the People running away, some of them naked, the Women shrieking, and all in the utmost Consternation, *Cortes* order'd that no Person should be kill'd, and nothing taken, so that all the Disorder soon ceas'd, and the Inhabitants return'd to their Houses. *Cortes* went up to a high Place, whence he discover'd such an immense Multitude of Houses, that he was astonish'd, and asking, what Places those were, was told, That was the City of *Tlascala*, and the Villages about it. He call'd all his Men, and said, what would it have avail'd to destroy the People of *Cinpancingo*, since there are so many yonder. Then turning to *Alonso de Grado*, who was chief Alcalde, he ask'd him, what he thought was fit to be done, considering the Multitude of People they discover'd. He answer'd, That they should return to the Sea, and write to *James Velasquez*, to send Supplies, because if any cross Accident, or Sicknefs should happen among them, it was certain they would be all devour'd by the *Indians*. *Cortes* was much concern'd at this Answer, and especially for its touching upon *James Velasquez*. However he reply'd to him, that he ought to consider, that if once they went about to retire, the very Stones would rise up against them, and if they must certainly dye, it was better to perish in the Prosecution of their Design, than running away.

He

HE then went to rest him by a Spring, that was without the Town, whither the prime Men, seeing no Harm had been done them, resorted to him with abundance of unarm'd People, carrying a Quantity of Provisions. They thank'd him for having done no Hurt, as he might, desiring he would continue the same Orders, and offer'd to obey him, and intercede with the Lords of *Tlascala*, for a Peace. He entertain'd them very kindly, promising his Friendship, provided they were sincere, and so return'd to his Quarters, well pleas'd, and confiding in the Success, bidding the Soldiers not speak ill of the Day till it was past, for he hop'd, that the War with *Tlascala* was at an End, as they would find it, and if so, God had much Prosperity in store for them. Those he had left in his Quarters were very melancholy, fearing some disaster had befallen *Cortes*, because of the Sicknes of the Horses; but when they saw him return with a pleasant Countenance, prancing his Horse, all the Men safe, with some of the Natives of the Country they croud-ed to welcome him. He told them all that had hap-pened, they listening with much Attention; but when they were inform'd of the Greatness of *Tlascala*, and the Multitude of those martial obstinate People; re-flecting how many unhappy Accidents might happen, how little Hopes there were of Supplies when they had, as they said, blindly run themselves into a Country they knew nothing of, and that since their Departure from *Cuba* fifty-five *Spaniards* had dy'd by Sicknes, or of the Wounds receiv'd in the several Battles with the *Tlascallans*, they began to hold Cabals, resolving to perswade, and even to require *Cortes* to have more regard to the publick Welfare, and not to carry them where they could not easily retreat, since the Danger was so evident, offering to follow him through greater Fatigues, provided it were with a suitable Power, that which they

they then had being too inconsiderable for so potent a Country. His surest Friends advis'd him to take Order about it, before the Men mutiny'd. He answer'd, that the Danger was not so great as they represented it, and that it was only an Invention of those that wanted to return to enjoy their Ease in *Cuba*; desiring they would not bring him such Advice, for he did not believe that any *Spaniards* could be so faint-hearted, especially having till then met with so much Success. One Night, going the Rounds, to observe the Sentinels, he heard loud talking, and some Soldiers saying, "If our Commander is mad, let us be wise, and tell him in plain Terms, that he must consider what is fit to be done, or else we will leave him by himself." He told some Friends who were with him, that those who durst say so were likely enough to do it, and going on heard the like in other Places, which troubled him very much, he would willingly have punish'd them; but thought it better to take no Notice at that Time, till hearing that the Murmurs increas'd, he caus'd all the Men to be drawn together, and spoke to them so effectually, that they all readily submitted to his Will.

It pleas'd God to allay all those Discontents much better, for very soon after six prime *Mexican* Noblemen arriv'd in the Camp, attended by about two hundred Persons they had in their Service, much differing from the others in their Habit, and Behaviour. Being brought before *Cortes*, they after their Manner made him profound Obedience, and it appear'd that they had Notice at *Mexico* of the Victories he had gain'd over the *Tlascallans*. Before they spoke, they deliver'd him a Present from their King, consisting of one thousand Cotton Garments, many curious Pieces of Feather Work, and the Value of one thousand Castellanos in very fine Gold Dust, as it is taken out of the
Mines.

Mines. Then the eldest of them said, " That their
 " Master *Moteczuma* saluted him, and sent that Present
 " by them, wishing him all Prosperity, and owning
 " he deserv'd much more, desiring to know how he
 " and all his did; and that if he wanted any thing
 " his Kingdom afforded, all was at his Service; that
 " he much rejoic'd at the News he had receiv'd of his
 " Victories obtain'd over the *Tlascallans*; that wishing
 " him well, he desir'd he would not go to *Mexico*,
 " because the Way was bad and dangerous, and he
 " should be sorry that any Mischance should befall
 " Men of so much Valour, whom he so entirely lov'd;
 " that he was willing to acknowledge the King of
 " *Spain* his Friend, and Sovereign, whom he would
 " serve in all he should command." In Token that
 they had no more to say, they stood hanging
 down their Heads, and their Arms extended one
 Hand being upon the other. *Cortes* by his Inter-
 preters answer'd, " Bidding them welcome, giving
 " many Thanks to *Moteczuma* for his Present, his
 " Affection, and the Advice he gave him; and
 " for offering to acknowledge so great a Monarch as
 " the King of *Spain* his Master; and because they
 " must be tir'd with so long a Journey, he desir'd
 " they would rest themselves there, whilst he came
 " to a Resolution about his Journey to *Mexico*."

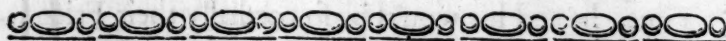
Cortes's design was, that those Embassadors should
 see how he behav'd himself towards the *Tlascallans*, in
 case the War was carry'd on, and if Peace were conclud-
 ed, that they should hear how he reprov'd them
 for having begun it. He then gave Orders that they
 should be well treated. At that Time he was indis-
 pos'd with a Fever, and therefore had not for some
 Days march'd out into the Country, so that nothing
 more was done than securing the Quarters, and some-
 times skirmishing with Parties of *Tlascallans* that came

to make a Noise. He purg'd himself with a Parcel of Pills he had carry'd from *Cuba*, and before they began to work, the Alarm was given on Account of three great Bodies of the Enemy that had appear'd, and attack'd the Quarters in three several Parts, with the greatest Fury, believing the *Spaniards* to be in an ill Condition, because they had not been abroad during the aforesaid Days. *Cortes*, notwithstanding his Purge mounted a Horseback, fought a long Time in Person, playing both Parts of Commander and Soldier, and omitting nothing that was to be done, till the Enemy were routed and fled, the *Mexicans* being present, and observing every particular Action. The next Day the Purge work'd with *Cortes*, as if it had been then taken, the Physician saying, that Nature had with-held the Operation upon the Diversion given by the Mind. The *Tlascallans* admiring that all their Power had not been able to compass their Design, and most of them concluding that the *Spaniards* were assisted by some Deity, which render'd them invincible, besides being inform'd, that the *Mexican* Embassadors were arriv'd at the *Spanish* Army; having seriously consulted what was to be done, after many Debates, and Contests, concluded that Peace ought to be made, and Endeavours us'd to divert them from entering into any Alliance with the *Mexicans*, if the same were in Agitation, because that would be the greatest misfortune that could befall them. Young *Xicotencatl* was appointed to go on this Embassy, tho' he endeavour'd to excuse himself; but having receiv'd positive Commands, he made ready with fifty of the principal Men in the City, and some Youths to be left as Hostages. He carry'd a Present of Cotton Cloth, and Feather Works, with some Gold, according to the Ability of that City, which had very little of those Things. *Cortes* being advertis'd of the Embassy that was coming

ing from the Republick of *Tlascala*, and that *Xicotencatl* was the Person employ'd, he went out to receive, and conducted him to his Quarters with much Honour, and Attendance. They two sat down, and all the rest standing, as well *Spaniards* as *Tlascallans*, the Present and the Hostages were brought in, and *Xicotencatl* in very courteous manner begg'd Pardon of all that was past for himself, and his Republick, making many Excuses, and offering to enter into a strict Alliance with the *Spaniards*, and to serve them faithfully for the future.

Cortes having duly consider'd the *Tlascallan's* Speech, and how much he had been mov'd whilst speaking, told him, " There was no Occasion to make himself
" uneasy, for that, as he would find in Proceſs of
" Time, he and his would be so cordially their Friends,
" that they should not love one another better; be-
" cause it was the Nature of the *Spaniards* not only
" to return good for good, but even to do good to
" those from whom they had receiv'd Harm, it being
" the best of Conquests to make Friends of Enemies,
" so that he already wish'd for some Opportunity to
" prove what he said, by his Actions. However,
" he pray'd that they would rightly consider how that
" Friendship was concluded, so that there might be
" no Failure in it; for that his God, by whose aid he
" conquer'd, did not bear with Frauds; and that when
" he enter'd upon their Country, which would be as
" soon as he had dismiss'd the *Mexican* Embassadors,
" they would be sensible that his Friendship deserv'd to
" be valu'd." *Xicotencatl* rose up very well pleas'd, *Cortes* embrac'd, and went with him out of his Tent, the other Commanders attending him out of the Quarters, all being well pleas'd, and settled in their Minds, hoping that since the War was concluded with *Tlascala*, they should reap great Advantages from that Alliance;

for at that Time, considering that some of them were dead, very many wounded, and the rest spent with Fatigues, their Number so small, and the many Difficulties they had to surmount, they concluded that if the War had lasted they must all have perish'd, and therefore they ascrib'd the concluding of this Peace at that Time to the special Goodness of God, and for confirming of them in this religious Opinion, *Cortes* order'd Mass to be said, and a solemn Thanksgiving; after which *F. John Diaz*, call'd the Tower of the Temple there, the *Tower of Victory*, in Memory of those the Troops had gain'd whilst they had their Quarters close by it, during almost forty Days they continu'd in that Place.



C H A P. IV.

The Alliance between Cortes and the Tlascallans concluded; his Reception into their City; the Original and Description thereof, and how it came to be a Republick; the Climate, Nature, and other Particulars of that Province.



XCOTENCATL at his Return to *Tlascalala* was receiv'd as became an Embassador that had been managing an Affair of that Consequence; the Senate heard all he had to say, and it was there resolv'd, that since they stood so much in need of *Cortes* to make use of him against *Moteczuma*, they should endeavour to

to bring him into their City as soon as possible, to prevent his concluding an Alliance with their Enemy. The Peace was proclaim'd throughout the City and Province, and they made a *Mitote*, that is, a Dance of above twenty thousand Men of the better Sort, richly adorn'd. They offer'd extraordinary Sacrifices to their Gods, burning abundance of Perfumes, and the more to express their Joy, garnish'd the Doors of their Houses with Boughs, and Variety of Flowers. The *Mexican* Embassadors were much concern'd at that Alliance with the *Tlascallans*, and bid *Cortes* take heed what he did, and not to trust those People, who were so false, that they would endeavour to compass by Treachery what they had not been able to perform by open Force, and that he might be assur'd, if they once went into *Tlascala*, that they would murder them every Man basely. Tho' *Cortes*, being a cautious Man, did not as yet repose much Confidence in the *Tlascallans*, knowing that the *Mexicans* were prejudic'd, he answer'd, That if they were ever so treacherous he was resolv'd to go into the City, for he fear'd them less there than in the Field. Having heard his Resolution, they desir'd he would give Leave for one of them to go to *Mexico*, to acquaint the King with what was doing, and carry an Answer to their principal Message, praying he would stay there six Days, till they could hear from *Mexico*. He was well pleas'd with their Proposal, that he might in that Time discover whether the Friendship the *Tlascallans* offer'd was sincere, and how it was taken at *Mexico*.

WHILST these Things were in Agitation, many *Tlascallans* resorted to the Army with Provisions, and gave them *gratis*; others went out only to see, and be acquainted with the *Spaniards*, praying them to go to their City. They gave them good Words, till the Messenger returning from *Mexico* the sixth Day, brought

brought ten costly Jewels of Gold well wrought, and one thousand five hundred Cotton Garments, and in *Motezuma's* Name intreated *Cortes*, not to expose himself to the Danger of going into *Tlascala*, for he assur'd him, he would repent it, because those were a needy People, and invited him thither, that they might rob him, and would never have concluded a Peace had they not known that he was their Friend. On the other Hand the four prime Lords had already sent to intreat, and importune him to repair to their City, offering him still greater Security, if he desir'd it, and protesting that their Friendship should last for ever, for they would never violate the Faith of the Republick upon any Account, because if they should the Gods would punish them. *Cortes* concluding that so much Courtesy and Importunity must needs proceed from a sincere Friendship, and being much courted to it by the *Zempoalans*, resolv'd to go to *Tlascala*, and accordingly began his March, in good Order, leaving several Crosses, and Heaps of Stones at his Quarters, by the Tower of *Victory*, in Memory of those he had there obtain'd. It was strange to see what Multitudes of People flock'd along the Road from all the neighbouring Parts, to gaze upon the *Spaniards*, all of them amaz'd at the Sight of such Men, and calling to mind the Victories they had gain'd, stood beside themselves with Surprise, not knowing what to think of the Arrival of that strange People. The Accounts the *Zempoalans*, and other *Indians* that follow'd the *Spaniards*, gave, were very notable; who as it were glorying to be in their Company, extoll'd their Valour, their Goodness, and their brave Actions, praising their God by whose Aid they conquer'd. Others said, "What do you think of it now? Here are those chosen Men, sent by their God, whom such vast Numbers of you could not vanquish, and we have brought
 " them

“ them to be your Friends.” Thus attended and cry’d up they arriv’d at *Tlascala*.

Cortes took Care to send Advice to *John de Escalante*, and the rest that had been left behind at *Vera Cruz*, of the Success it had pleas’d God to give him, directing them to carry on the building of the Fort, and to keep a watchful Eye both upon the Natives, and upon the Ships that should come from *Cuba*, and ordering two Jars of Wine to be sent him, for saying Mass, and for the Sick, having us’d all that he carry’d with him. When he arriv’d at *Tlascala*, on the 18th of September 1519, the Lords of the four great Quarters the City was divided into, came out to meet him, in the most stately manner they were able, attended by several other of the greatest Persons in the Commonwealth, and above one hundred thousand Men. The Province complimented him at several Places; first at *Tezonpantzinco*; next at *Atliquetzan*, a very large Town, whither *Piltcentli* came with a very numerous Retinue. Thence *Cortes* proceeded to *Tizatlan*, a Town belonging to the Quarter of old *Xicotencatl*, who came not out of his House, because of his great Age. The other Lords, being *Maxiscatzin*, *Zitlaepopucatzin*, and *Tlevexolotzin* with all the prime Nobility, and as soon as the *Spaniards* came up in good Order, young *Xicotencatl* embrac’d *Cortes*, as did the other Lords, whom he receiv’d very courteously, and they all proceeded together to the Place where he and his Men were to be quarter’d, always expressing their desire to serve them. When the *Spaniards* had been put into their Quarters at the great Temple, and the *Indians* their Friends with them, who took it for a particular Favour, they were generously treated, and supply’d with all Necessaries. It was wonderful to see what a Multitude of People appear’d both without and within the City, all in their best Apparel, dancing

ing before them to their very Quarters, where they presented *Cortes* with many valuable Pieces of Gold, precious Stones, and abundance of Cotton Cloth and Garments, interwoven with Feathers, which considering their Poverty, was very extraordinary. At first the Natives thought the Man and the Horse had been one Monster, and they gave the Horses their Allowance of Fowls, believing that they had eaten Bread and Flesh; but this mistake lasted not long, for they perceiv'd them to be irrational Creatures, that fed on Grass; tho' they long persisted in the Opinion of their being fierce Animals, that devour'd Men, for which reason the *Spaniards* did put Bridles into their Mouths, and led them with Iron Chains, and when any Horse's Mouth happen'd to be bloody, they said he had eaten some Man; and when they neigh'd, that they ask'd for Meat, and it must be given them, that they might not be angry, and so they were very diligent to supply them. Strangers from remote Parts went privately to see these unheard-of Novelties, to enquire what Men those were, and what was doing. The *Tlascallans* told them much more than the Truth, to strike a Terror into all the Country; affirming, that they were Gods, and that no human Power could hurt them, which was the more easily credited, because they understood that the *Spaniards* were in *Tlascala*, which had been ever reputed the best govern'd Commonwealth, and its People the bravest, and most martial. The more to assure *Cortes* of their Affection, they presented him with above three hundred beautiful Women, all very well dress'd, that had been condemn'd for Crimes to be sacrific'd, which they gave the *Spaniards* as an Offering, and they lamented their misfortune. *Cortes* would not accept of them, alledging, that their Religion did not permit any Man to have more than one Wife, and she ought to be a Christian.

At

At last, in regard that the *Indians* take it very ill to have their Gifts rejected, some of them were receiv'd, under Colour of serving *Marina Malinche*, who was present at all Interviews, and Conferences, and very much respected; for it was the Custom among the *Indians*, for a Woman of Quality to have a great Number of Women to wait on her; and the *Indians* observing, that these and other Women Slaves they at several Times gave the *Spaniards*, liv'd contentedly with them, the prime Men afterwards gave them their own Daughters, to the End that the Race of those brave Men might continue among them. *Xicotencatl* gave a beautiful Daughter he had to *Peter de Alvarado*, and she was afterwards call'd *Dona Luisa Techquiluasín*, those People whilst they were Gentiles, having no other Matrimony than the Consent of the Parties. They gave *Cortes* the Name of *Calchichintl*, signifying, the General of great Valour; because *Calchichintl* is the Colour of an Emerald, and Emeralds are highly valu'd among those People. They call'd *Peter de Alvarado* the Sun, because he was very fair of Complexion, with an agreeable red, and much belov'd by the *Tlascallans*. *Cortes* by Degrees very particularly inquir'd into the Power, and other Affairs of *Moteczuma's* Empire, and concerning the Enmity between him, and that Republick. He commanded his Men to take nothing but what was freely given them. The Natives oblig'd them in every thing, and the *Spaniards* and the *Indians* that went with them, behav'd themselves very civilly, never going beyond the Limits assign'd them without Leave from *Cortes*, who kept them under such strict Discipline, that there was not the least Cause of Complaint.

Now since this Province was so famous, and contributed so much towards reducing of the *Mexican* Empire under the Dominion of the Crown of *Spain*, it

will be requisite to give some Account of it. The whole Extent of it is fifty Leagues, which the *Indians* reckon'd by one Rest, two Rests, one Run, two Runs, &c; and the Journeys by Suns, or Moons; and when they were ask'd, at what Time shall we come to such a Place; they answer'd, when the Sun is there, pointing to the Part of Heaven; and for so many Days Journey, they said, so many Suns, and the same by the Moon, reckoning the Night from the Setting of the Sun to its Rising. The City of *Tlascala* was very strongly situated by Nature, in twenty Degrees Latitude, among very high, and steep Clifts and Rocks, whence it had the Name of *Tlascala*, signifying a Place of Rocks, till it was afterwards corrupted and chang'd to *Tlascallan*, importing a Place of Bread, because the Province abounds in *Indian* Wheat, and other Grain, and Provisions, their Harvest being always plentiful, by reason that the high Mountains occasion much Rain, so that the Earth has sufficient Moisture. The City was built in that Place because of its Strength, to secure it against their Enemies, for which Reason most of the Towns stood on high Grounds, and consequently they were cold. From *Xicotencatl's* Quarter there runs a Ridge of Hills, beginning in the East, and tending to the West, forming an oblong Side, through the Midst whereof passes the River *Zahuatl*, which some Years overflows its Banks, and carries away the Houses and the Harvest. On the North Side of the same Hills is the Town of *Ocotenilco*, the first Settlement the *Spaniards* made after being protected by *Maxiscatzin*, who was the best Friend they had, and Lord of that Quarter. After the Country was subdu'd, for the better polishing of the Natives, with the Consent of the Republick, they came down to live in the Plain, where they now are, on the Bank of the River *Zahuatl*, which signifies

The HISTORY of America. 283

signifies Water of Itch, because the Boys that bath'd in it generally had the Itch. Most sumptuous Buildings have been erected there, after the Manner of *Spain*; but to pass by what is at present, and return to our Purpose, the Town was divided into Parcels at small Distances, without any Order, as is us'd with us, many Houses crouded together, and between them several narrow winding Lanes. The Houses terrass'd at the Top on Beams, some of mud Walls, some Boarded, some of Brick, and some of Lime and Stone, according to every Man's Ability. They had no upper Floors, but all on the Ground, having very large Rooms of a strange Shape. Nor had they Doors, or Window Shutters, but only Mats made of a Sort of Sedge, which they hung on and took down at Pleasure, with Hawks-bells of Gold, or Copper, or other Metals, and Sea-Shells hanging on them, to make a Noise when they were taken down, or open'd, or shut, but they now build after the *Spanish* Fashion. Most of this Country is inhabited, for from the City there stretch'd out other Towns, like Suburbs, extending two or three Leagues beyond the Compass of it. Every House had its Land about it, and there were eighteen Towns, all of them belonging to *Tlascala*, the Inhabitants being above one hundred thousand; and all the Country round this Province was enclos'd by other Nations subject to the *Mexicans*, who had maintain'd War against *Tlascala* for sixty Years past, and press'd them on all Sides. These Nations were the *Tepeacans*, *Tominaqueans*, *Cholultecans*, *Huexocingos*, *Tetzacoans*, *Acolitncaqueans*, *Zacatecans*, and *Ulmecans*. The *Tlascallans* had expell'd the *Ulmecans* and *Zacatecans* out of their Country, and kept it to themselves, calling themselves at first *Chichimecans*, and inhabiting the Mountains of *Tepeticpaque*, whence came *Texcalicpac*, then *Texcala*, and lastly *Tlascala*. Having settled their

Boundaries to be known by, and refusing to submit to any King, or General, there ensu'd Civil Wars among them, conspiring against their best Commanders; Ambition taking Possession of those Barbarians, who could endure no Superior, or Equal, which occasion'd the aforesaid bloody Wars among them, carry'd on with the utmost Cruelty.

THE Prime Men were so hard press'd, that they crav'd Aid of *Tescuco*, and other Towns, being much streightned in *Tlascala*, tho' well secur'd with Ditches and Trenches. With those Succours they enlarg'd their Borders, and grew too hard for their Enemies, who ask'd Assistance of *Matzaliutzin*, King of *Mexico*. He sent Word to the *Tlascallans*, that tho' he had promis'd to assist their Enemies, it should be only in Show, for which Reason he pray'd them not to hurt the *Mexicans*. The *Tlascallans* return'd Thanks to the King of *Mexico* for that Favour, and had Recourse to Prayers, and Sacrifices, as they usually offer'd upon such Occasions, begging the Help of their Gods with Tears, Fasting, and Offerings. The Enemy's Army, among whom the *Huexocingans* were the chief, being in a Readiness, began to go up the Hill to *Tlascala*, and the Defendants sally'd upon them. They took one of the *Huexocingans*, and immediately went to sacrifice him before their Idol *Camaxtle*, flaying him before he was quite dead, and one of them putting the Skin on himself, with the Guts hanging, stood before that Idol, where the Priests pray'd, and begg'd Victory. In the mean Time the Battle was maintain'd with a mighty Slaughter, till a great Fog rising, they kill'd, and threw one another down those Rocks and Precipices, without knowing what Side they were of. Whilst this was doing, the *Mexicans* went up a Hill, from whence they saw what was doing, and having seen the End, they return'd Home.

When

When that War was over, those *Chichimecans* of *Tlascala*, struck a great Terror into the Country, and all the neighbouring *Culúas* and *Mexicans* joyn'd in Alliance with them, and living long in Peace, had Leisure to build their Towns, and settle the Frontiers. *Tlascala* enjoying Peace, all the Province was inhabited, and *Culhuacutli*, who was look'd upon as the only Lord, divided what he had with his Brother *Teyohualminqui*, and went down to govern his People into the Vale of *Ocuteculco*. These Brothers left the Sovereignty to two Sons of theirs, and one of them, tho' very brave, grew so tyrannical in his old Age, that the Subjects being uneasy, conspir'd, and slew him, and all his Friends, and Kindred; but two Nurses hid two young Sons of his, from whom descended *Maxiscatzin*, the most faithful Friend of the *Spaniards*. The other three Lords of *Tlascala* were of no less remarkable Descents. After the Death of *Culhuacutli*, the City, and its Territory began to be govern'd in the Nature of a Commonwealth. The *Mexican* Language was spoken at *Tlascala*, tho' there was another which they call'd *Otomick*, from a Nation, which revolting from the Kings of *Mexico*, was receiv'd by the *Tlascallans*, as their Subjects, and had Lands given them to till, and dwell on, on Condition, that they should guard the Frontiers against the *Mexicans*, and *Culúas*. These were the barbarous *Otomies* on whom the *Tlascallans* at first laid the Blame, for having taken up Arms against *Cortes*. They are very hardy, excellent Husbandmen, extraordinary Idolaters, lewd, filthy, very savage, and hard to be brought to Christianity; Drunkards, and fond of living in remote Places, being the reverse of those that speak the *Mexican* Tongue, who are docible, and polite. These *Otomies* were once possess'd of all that Country, of very antient Times, and there are of them scatter'd every where, but nothing is known

286 *The HISTORY of America.*

known of their Original, because they are so barbarous, that they can give no Account of themselves, being bold, fierce, and brave in War, and much addicted to hunting.

THE Climate of *Tlascala* is so temperate, that some People went naked, and those who wore Cloaths, never made any Alteration in them for Summer or Winter. However, there is a colder Part, which is higher to the Northward, above the temperate Part of the Mountain, but so small, that it is scarce four Miles in Breadth, and ten in Length, which Country is fruitful, producing much *Indian* Whear, and Fruit of the Country, as also of the *European* Cucumers, and Peaches, extending East and West, with great Towns. Beyond this again is another Ridge of Mountains, crossing all the Dominions of *Tlascala*, and some say all the *New World*, being the highest in *New-Spain*, is about eight Leagues over, so uncooth, that in some Places they are not habitable, and so cold and rainy, that only three Months in the Year are tollerable, the other nine being continually so clouded, that the Sun can give no Heat, but as soon as pass'd those Mountains, the Plains are hot again. To return to the other Division made by the Mountains before spoken of, there the cold, fruitful, and healthy Country begins, and the Waters run to the Southward, having their Source on the high Tops. All the Mountains are wooded, and close, where there are many wild Beasts, as Lyons, Tygers, and Wolves, that do much Mischief to the small Cattle. Besides there are other Creatures unknown to us, as also Snakes, large and small Vipers, Red and Fallow Deer, and other Sorts. As for Birds there are sometimes vast Flights of them, thought to come from the Northward, and are seen at the *Havana*, so thick, that they darken the Sky, and among them many Parrots. There are likewise wild Cats, Sables,

Monkeys,

Monkeys, &c. Silver Mines are found in several Parts, as also Allom, and Copperace. The Mountains produce Pine, Oak, Beach, Cedar, Holm, and other Sorts of Trees, which afford Gum Anime, and Liquid Amber us'd for Perfumes, besides the Cakes they make of several Flowers. In some Places there is excellent Manna for purging, and good for weak Stomachs. It is wonderful to see that on this Mountain there are very agreeable Towns abounding in all Necessaries for human Life, as lying between the two Extreame, of the hot and the cold Countries, and they on the Eminence. The Mountain of *Tlascala*, which the Natives call of the Blew Sides, in their Tongue, being large, and wonderful fine, is enclos'd about with a most beautiful thick Wood of tall and large Trees, nothing being open but the Top of it, which is a sharp Point, cover'd during the greatest Part of the Year with Snow, and at a Distance it looks like a blew Rock, so even and well shap'd, that Nature seems there to have form'd a most regular Capitol. It is call'd the Mountain of *Tlascala*, because the greatest Part of it is in that Province. The Compass of it is eighteen Leagues, and there are on it many fierce and savage Beasts, and some black Cattle that were first carry'd from *Spain*, and are grown wild.

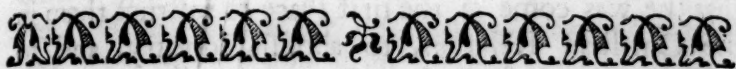
FROM this Mountain proceed all the Damps, Lakes, and Morasses about *Tlascala*, as do the Springs, and other wholesome Waters. There all the Clouds gather, during the six rainy Months, from *April* to *October*, and from thence proceed all the Storms, Hurricanes, and the Lightning, which is very fierce. The Length of it is above six Leagues. In this Province there are many Baths good for Diseases. The Rivers have but little Fish, which perhaps is occasion'd by the Violence of the Streams, and the great Falls. In a very deep Lake of sweet Water, near *Topayanco*, there is no Sort
of

288 *The* HISTORY of *America*.

of Fish, but one which is like little Alligators, the biggest not above a Span long, wholesome, and much valu'd. That Water is very agreeable, and all the Banks of it are inhabited by *Indians*, who there have their Corn Fields, Orchards, and Cochinilla, now so much us'd, which yields *Tlascala* two hundred thousand Ducats a Year, and was not regarded by the Natives, till they were taught by the *Spaniards*. They take out of the same Lake abundance of Rushes, and Sedges, for making of coarse Mats, which were all the Beds they formerly had, and they are very good to lay on the Ground, or set about Walls. The *Indians* go about upon this Lake on large Bundles of Rushes, close bound together, and round, like Trunks of Trees, the Water being so thin that it will not bear wooden Canoes. It is resorted to by great Numbers of Water Fowl, as Cranes, Geese, Ducks, and other Sorts, which the Natives took with Nets, and Gins. It remains to give an Account of the Religion, Customs, and other Particulars of the *Tlascallans*, which shall soon follow.



CHAP.



C H A P. V.

The Tlascallans pray Cortes to let them know his Design; his Answer; Prodigies concerning Strangers; the Religion, Laws, Customs, and Manners of the Tlascallans; Cortes resolves to go to Mexico, and the Tlascallans to stand by him; James de Ordas looks into a burning Mountain.



CORTES being come into *Tlascala*, and receiv'd as has been said, to please *Maxiscatzin*, remov'd into his Quarter of the Town, call'd *Ocoteculco*, where a Market was kept every Week; and sixty thousand Persons met to sell, or barter, for they knew not what Money was, except only the *Cacao*, of which much will be said in this History. All Things proper for eating, cloathing, and other Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life were carry'd thither; as also Materials for Building. There were Gold-Smiths, Feather-Men, Barbers, Baths, and as good Earthern Ware as in *Spain*. The four Lords that govern'd the Commonwealth, and other great Men went thither to discourse *Cortes*, and intreat him to acquaint them with his Intentions, promising to be subservient to him in whatsoever he should propose.

Cortes, by his Interpreters, gave them to understand, that he was come in the first Place to instruct them in the Christian Religion, to abolish Idolatry, and to assist them against all their Enemies, and particularly *Motezuma*. *Maxiscatzin*, then reply'd, in Defence of their Gods, and *Cortes* rejoin'd, still pressing them to renounce their Idols, and embrace Christianity; whereupon those Noblemen stood mute for a while, not knowing what to say; but *Cortes*, by the Advice of *F. Bartholomew de Olmedo*, and some of his Officers, thought fit not to urge the Point of Religion any farther at that Time, they promising not to eat any more human Flesh; yet they all return'd to it, as soon as he was out of the Way.

THE Spirit of God beginning to operate among the *Tlascallans*, some of them comply'd with *Cortes*; but others said, that since they had given him their Hearts, being the best Part of them, they begg'd of him not to compel them to provoke their Gods, and alarm the People, who must be consulted about an Affair of that Consequence. He finding it convenient to give them farther Time to consider, said, he would provide Ministers of the Christian Religion, to convince them more fully of their Blindness, and did not question but that they would return him Thanks for that Kindness; however in the mean Time he desir'd they would assign him a Chapel in that Temple, where he then resided, to offer Sacrifice after his Manner to God, and that they would come to see it. They consented, a Chapel was fitted, where Mass was said, and many of the prime *Tlascallans* went to see it, admiring what they saw, and being very attentive, whereupon some of them liking, stay'd with them. *Maxiscatzin* was most remarkable in his Friendship for *Cortes*, keeping always about him, for it is likely that God mov'd his Heart. With his Consent *Cortes* erected a great Cross in the

Court

Court of the Temple, and some say he did the like in other Places; but it is certain that was a very great one. When it was set up, many *Indians* of Credit said, they saw a Light from Heaven descend upon it in the Night, like a white Cloud, which continu'd three or four Years, till all the Country was entirely subdu'd. Before the coming of the *Spaniards*, they had often seen that white Cloud like a Pillar, frequently appearing to the Eastward, in the Morning, before the Sun was up. Others affirm'd, that it was like a Whirlwind rising in the Shape of a Bag from the top of the Mountain of *Tlascala*, and ascending up to Heaven, and when they saw it descend upon the Cross, they concluded it to have been a Presage of the coming of the new People; for which Reason the Natives paid much Respect to the Cross; and this was a Motive that induc'd many to believe what *Cortes* said. Others in a Consternation, calling to Mind the past Confusions and Frights, when that Pillar appear'd, and the Lamentations of the Inhabitants, knew not which way to turn themselves. Some also, being more hardened, with their Priests, and in much Affliction, endeavour'd to be inform'd by Soothsayers and Sorcerers of the meaning of that unusual Appearance, and whether those *Spaniards* were immortal Sons of God, or Enchanters.

AT *Mexico*, in the Year 1517, part of the God *Vuziliputzli*'s Temple was burnt, without any Body setting Fire to it, nor could it be quench'd with Water, which rather made the Flame the fiercer. Another Time, a small Rain falling, without any Thunder, a Flash of Lightning struck the Temple of *Tzozumolco*; and they saw Comets in the Air in broad Day, the Sun shining, running by three and three from the West to the East, with such Force, that the Sparks flew from them, which occasion'd a great Consternation, and

many Cries in that City, and the Parts adjacent. The Lake of *Mexico* rag'd without any Wind, rising and foaming up in such Manner, that it wash'd above half the Houses in the City, and some were born down. Two Men were several Times seen united in one Body, and other Times Bodies with two Heads, which were carry'd to *Motezuma's* black Palace. All that hapned at *Mexico* was known at *Tlascala*, and perplex'd them no less, than what they saw with their own Eyes. Before we proceed any farther it will be fit briefly to add something of the Religious Rites, Manners, and Policy of these People.

THESE Men who during their Paganism were so religious, had some Knowledge that there was one God above all the other Gods ; that there was an Eternity ; that there was a future Punishment ; that there were Angels, and nine Heavens. They did not conceive that the World was round, but suppos'd it to be flat. They believ'd that the Sun and Moon slept when they were set, that they were Man and Wife, and that the Stars were subservient to them. They call'd Fire the God of Old Age, painting him very old. They thought the World had not been created, but form'd by Chance, and that the Heavens had no Beginning. They were not acquainted with the four Elements, nor their Operations ; and it was their Opinion, that the World had been twice destroy'd ; once by Floods and Tempests, when the Earth had been turn'd topsy turvy, and that the Men who then liv'd were Giants, whose Bones were found in the Clefts. That the other End of the World had been by Winds and Hurricanes, and that some People who escap'd, lying hid on the Mountains, were turn'd into Monkeys, and having lost the Use of Reason, they knew not how to speak. That the World is to end by Fire, the Earth opening and swallowing up Men, and the

the rest being burnt. It was their Opinion, that the Gods were to be invok'd upon all Occasions, because nothing was done without their Will. The Variety of their Gods and Goddeses was very great, the chief of them being the Goddes of Lovers, who, they said, liv'd above the Air, and the nine Heavens, in very delightful Places, and attended by many Women like Goddeses, Dwarfs, crooked Persons, Jesters, and Buffoons, that diverted her with Musick and Dancing. That those People went on Messages to the Gods she was fond of; that their Business was spinning and weaving singular Curiosities, and they painted her very beautiful. Her Festival was celebrated yearly, and she had a sumptuous Temple, which was much resorted to. There was another Goddes of the Sorcerers, and Soothsayers; another of Covetousness and Avarice, and to perpetuate the Memory of those Gods and Goddeses, they gave their Names to Mountains, which continue to this very Day. When there was any Want of Rain they fasted, did Penance, and made Processions, and *Holoc* was their God of the Waters, Thunder and Lightning. A great Temple was dedicated to him, in which two Festivals were kept yearly, and their Prayers were very fervent. Their Religion differ'd little from that of the *Mexicans*, which shall also be spoken of in its Place.

THE World was by them divided into four Parts; and the Year was settled by the Sun and the Moon, with intercalary Days to make it out. The Months were computed by twenty Days of the Moon, and twenty Moons made a Year. Their Week consisted of thirteen Days, but there were great and little Weeks. Their Festivals were distributed throughout the Year, and all the Ceremonies establish'd that were to be observ'd on each of them. It was their Opinion, that the Provinces of *New-Spain* had not been inhabited
above

above four hundred Years, of which Time they gave a very good Account, but nothing beyond it. In this City of *Tlascala* was a Spring, held in great Veneration, to which they carry'd new born Children to be bath'd, in the Nature of Baptism, which they thought deliver'd them from Misfortunes, and there they offer'd Flowers, Perfumes, and sacrific'd Men. They were great Conjurers, Wizards, Soothsayers, and Diviners; us'd to cast Lots, and believ'd in Dreams and Prodigies. They saw strange Apparitions of the Devil in the Shape of a Lion, Tiger, or other borrow'd Body, and he would talk to them, and was known by having no Shadow, no small Bones in the Joints, neither Eyebrows, nor Eyelids, his Eyes round, without Balls, or White. They practis'd Abstinences, Fasts, Penances, Pilgrimages, and going certain Stations. Their Temples were pyramidal, with Steps going up to the Top, where was one or two little Chapels, and before them large Stone Columns, with Fires and Perfumes on them Day and Night. The Temples were serv'd by such as engag'd to do it during their Lives, and some for a set Time; who were maintain'd by the First-Fruits, and Offerings of what the Earth produc'd. They were very exact in the Service of the Temples, and the greatest Sacrifice was of Men, and Dogs, so that there were Shambles of Dogs sacrific'd; but the prime Sacrifice of all was that of the first Prisoner taken in War. One who had been a Priest, and was converted, said, that when they tore out the Heart of the wretched Person sacrific'd, it did beat so strongly, that he took it up from the Ground three or four times, till it cool'd by Degrees, and then he threw the Body still moving down the Steps. To know whether the Devil consented to what they ask'd, they offer'd him something like pounded Henbane, an Herb reckon'd of great Virtues for Distempers;

stemper, which they plac'd on certain Vessels on the Altar ; when the Priests came to see those Vessels, and found the Prints of Eagle's Feet in them, they declar'd the same to the People, and then they joyfully began the Solemnity with Trumpets, Drums, Horns, and other Instruments, the Multitude celebrating that Token given them by the Devil. When a Dearth hapned, they appointed a general Assembly on some known Mountains at a certain Day, carrying their Bows, Arrows, and Nets, and two or three thousand *Indians* went about killing Deer, wild Boars, and other Beasts. They ripp'd one open, and if they found in it any green Grass, or any Grain of Corn grown, they said the Year would be plentiful, and rejoyc'd, but if the Grass was wither'd, they were melancholy, and there the Devil spoke to them in strange Shapes, and discover'd many things.

THEY had such Temples as have been describ'd on the high Mountains. The Priests wore Miters, with Tiaras, or ornamental Circles about them, and were wont to set them on some of their Idols. They also us'd Featherwork to adorn their Tabernacles, and had Curtains before them ; always keeping Fires within the Temples, and great Lights on two Columns on the Sides of the Altars, excepting only five Days, which they call'd unlucky, when there was no Fire, after which they made new Fire with Sticks. They sung Lamentations, and melancholy Songs, having Prophecies of the End of the World, which they sung in dismal Tones ; and preserv'd the Memory of their great Actions in Verse, and Pictures, many of which the first of our religious Men that went thither caus'd to be burnt, out of a Christian Zeal, supposing them to have been Idolatrous. In sacrificing of Men they were very inhuman, for the Advantage of the Flesh, tho' they did not eat any but that of Enemies ; a Custom

Custom which had not been long in use among them, proceeding from their violent Aversion, by way of Revenge on them, till it grew up to be customary to devour one another, so that there were publick Shambles of human Flesh. The antientest among them, said, that Practice first came from the Province of *Chalco*, as did their Idolatry, and their drawing Blood from their own Bodies, to offer it to their Gods. They drew it from their Tongues, and from their Eyelids, for having look'd, or spoken; from their Arms for having been guilty of Sloth; from their Thighs, Legs, Ears, and Nostrils, answerable to the Offences they had committed; and sold new born Babes, and Infants of two Years of Age, to pay their Vows, and offer them in the Temples, and sacrifice them for obtaining their Desires. Most of the People were of a poor Capacity, weak of Body, of mean Thoughts, pusillanimous, unsteady, and unfit for any Thing that is great. They were to be corrected, and led by fair Means. They avoided not any contagious Distempers, but suffer'd themselves to dye like Beasts; did eat little, and could live upon very slight Food. Notwithstanding, they soon learnt any thing they were taught; thought it no Shame to give one another the lie; were naturally vain-glorious, jealous, cowardly when alone and cruel; in Company with the *Spaniards* bold, and daring, and he that was found in a lie, dy'd for it. Their Dealers were sincere, kept their Words, and look'd upon it as dishonourable to sell their Houses, or to borrow. They honour'd old Men, and punish'd Thieves and Adulterers. The Sons of the Prime Men that prov'd undutiful to their Parents, were either strangled, or sent to the Frontiers, or plac'd on the Front of Battles, that they might be kill'd. Other Men also condemn'd for Crimes were sent to the Frontiers. Traitors, and all their Relations within the seventh Degree were put

to Death, and Cowards were despis'd. Sodomy was punish'd with Death, tho' practis'd in other Provinces. They own'd their Original was the same as that of the *Mexicans*. Drunkenness was prohibited, but in vain. None were allow'd to drink strong Liquor but ancient Men, or on great Solemnities, or such as had serv'd so long as to be exempt from going to War. Salt and Cotton were scarce, being all brought from abroad; nor had they any Cacao, Gold, Feathers, or Balsam, but what they gain'd in War, or was privately imported by Merchants. They were much addicted to Musick, Dancing and Singing, rich Cloaths, and Jewels, and the Women went to their Solemnities in very gay Apparel. Tennis was us'd among them, yet only by great Persons, and they had Games like Dice, which they call'd *Patol*, besides many other Sorts of Diversion.

CURIOUS Bowers, Baths, and Fountains were in Request, and they kept Jesters, Dwarfs, and little crooked Persons; valuing themselves upon having many Women, and *Xicotencatl* had five hundred, tho' they marry'd only one, or two. It was not allow'd to marry a Sister, Mother, Aunt, or Mother-in-Law; but their Weddings were very costly, all the Kindred offering at them; the Bridegroom's Relations gave the Cloaths, and Moveables for the Bride, Jewels, Men and Women Slaves, Thread, Cotton, Chests and Mats; and the Bride's Kindred gave Things proper for the Bridegroom, so that they were furnish'd for a long Time. Besides they made great Entertainments of Fowl, Venison, and other Dishes, and these Treats, with Games, Dancing, and other Diversions, lasted according to the Quality of the new marry'd Couple. Such like Ceremonies were observ'd when a Woman was brought to Bed; the new born Infants were wash'd in cold Water, as were the Women as soon as deliver'd;

deliver'd; and tho' they had so many Women, they would have them live modestly. It hapned, that a Son of *Xicotencatl* fell in Love with a beautiful young Girl, he ask'd her of her Friends, took her Home, and she was kept as one of the rest. That Creature being an Hermophrodite, some Time after had to do with several of the other Women, and in a Year's Time whilst his Master was absent got twenty of them with Child. The Women were not put to Death, because the Master had plac'd the Hermophrodite among them, but they were turn'd off, which was a great Disgrace. The wretched Hermophrodite was carry'd to the Place for sacrificing of Malefactors, the Crime he had committed against his Lord, Master, and Husband proclaim'd, and being stripp'd naked, they cut open his left Breast with a sharp Flint, and so let him go where he would, and thus he went bleeding, and the Boys throwing Stones at him, about a Quarter of a League, and then fell down dead. The two principal Wives were honour'd, and respected by the others, and commanded, and sent them well dress'd to lye with their Husbands, when they desir'd it. There were several Ways of talking among them; some were profess'd Orators, some spoke Gibrish, others had pleasant Tales to make People laugh, and in the *Mexican* Language there were Proverbs, and Riddles. The Sons of great Men had Tutors to instruct them.

It is remarkable that all the Natives both of *North*, and *South America* are of the same Temper, and Disposition, because, according to the most probable Opinion, they all had the same Original, as had those of the Islands, whither they pass'd over from the Continent of *Florida*; but they differ'd much in their Rites and Customs, and accordingly those of *Mexico* shall be spoken off in their Place. At *Tlascala* they had a common Goal for Malefactors, and Judges to try

The HISTORY of America. 299

try them according to their Laws, and Usages. An Indian stole a small Quantity of Gold from a Spaniard, *Maxiscatzin* being inform'd of it, such strict Search was made, that they brought him from *Chulula*, and deliver'd him to *Cortes*, who taking no notice of him, he was carry'd to the Market, and being set on a Scaffold, his Brains were knock'd out with a Club. Signals were given from the Temples with Horns, and Cornets, at Midnight, Noon, Break of Day, Night-fall, and other Hours. When the Building of a House was finish'd, they made much Rejoycing with Dances, that the God of Houses might be favourable to them; and the same when they made their new Liquors, that no Disasters might besal them; and so nothing was done without calling upon their Gods. This Province of *Tlascala* was very populous, because it was resorted to from others, to be freed from the Slavery they were under to their Kings, and Lords, and all that rebell'd took Shelter there. They wore a Sort of close Jerkins without Sleeves, or Neckbands, having only a Hole for the Head to pass through, which scarce reach'd down to their Knees, and over that a Mantle curiously wrought with Figures, and of several Colours. Those that could not attain to Cotton, were cloath'd with an Herb call'd *Magney*; a Name us'd in the Island *Hispaniola*, but its proper Name was *Metl*, like a Thistle, having large Stems, with very sharp Prickles at the End, each Stem being above two Spans broad, from which they draw Thread, the Hurds serving to make Buskins, and Cords, and the Stalks to burn, and cover Houses. This Herb yields a good Sort of Honey, and they make of it Wine, or Liquor to drink, and Vinegar; also Paper, like our brown Paper, which the Natives us'd for their Characters. The Heart or Pulp of it is sweet, pleasant, and wholesome, and of it they make a good Pre-

serve. The Stems roasted yield a Balsam for Wounds, and strange Cures have been wrought with it. In case of Need those very Stems may be writ on, and the Prickle serves instead of a Pen. It yields no Fruit till past ten Years standing, and lasts till twenty. No mean Person wore Cotton Garments, with Fringes, Trimining, or Fulness, but single, plain, and short, without any Edging, so that every Man was known by his Garb. The Lords, or Caziques, which Name was carry'd over from the Island *Hispaniola*, were ador'd by their Subjects, who spoke to them in most humble Manner. When they discours'd them, they crouch'd on their Hams, without sitting down on the Ground, or lifting up their Eyes to look upon the Lord, or spitting, or any Motion, and at taking Leave they stood up, hanging down the Head, retiring backwards, without turning their Backs. The Tribute they paid was of the Product of the Earth; and the poorest Person, who had nothing else, gave Lice, and some say, little Worms, but most say they were Lice. This was chiefly us'd in the Province of *Mechoacan*, for King *Cazonzin*, order'd that none should be exempt from paying Tribute, tho' it were but in Lice. They loaded themselves like Beasts, and serv'd their Lords personally, without any other Interest than being under their Protection, and therefore they call'd themselves their Slaves.

THE Nobility was highly respected, and there were among them settled Families that had very good Estates. Sixty Lords of Vassals liv'd in the City, in very fine Palaces, and though a Nobleman were ever so poor he practis'd no mechanick Employment. They had a sort of Ceremony of making Knights in the Temples, after having fasted sixty Days, and then spent much upon that Festival, none being admitted to this Honour but such as had gain'd something in War.

or perform'd some notable Exploit, or given good Advice for the Publick; and Merchants that acquir'd much Wealth were ennobled. Those Gentlemen serv'd the Commonwealth, and were honour'd and respected. When they went to War, a General was appointed; the Standard of the Republick was carry'd in the Rear; when the Fight was over they fix it where all might see it, and punish'd any that did not resort to it. They carry'd two Arrows to their Wars, as Relicks of the first Founders of their City; one of them they shot at their Enemies, if it kill'd or wounded any Body, that was a Token of Victory, if not of Loss, but come what would, that Arrow was to be recover'd. They observ'd some sort of Order in their Battles, attacking and retiring seasonably. One Battallion advanc'd against another, engag'd with much Fury, and push'd on, or gave way, as their Strength would permit, and so others went on one after another, till the whole Armies engag'd; those Battallions march'd not in Rank and File, but close crowded together. When they perceiv'd any Signs of Victory they proclaim'd it, calling upon their Gods, following the Pursuit, taking as many as they could, which was their chiefeft Booty. They us'd Ambushes, and other martial Stratagems; when Towns did not Surrender immediately, they plunder'd and destroy'd them. In Fight they gave great Shouts, sounding Horns and wooden Trumpets, Dancing and Singing, and encouraging one another. The first Weapons they us'd were Bows and Arrows, which also serv'd them to hunt, and maintain themselves. They had Slings, and Darts, hardned in the Fire, above half a Yard long, which they cast with Leather Thongs in a very violent manner, the Points of them arm'd with Fish Bones, or Copper, or Flint, as were their Arrows; and they had Targets, and for their Defence made use of

of Ditches, and Trenches ; look'd out for strong Places, drove Stakes with sharp Points above, and cover'd them with Earth ; poison'd the Waters of Rivers and Springs ; fought naked, and painted with variety of Colours. The richer Sort us'd Armour stuff'd with Cotton, and had their Devices of wild Beasts, Tygers, Lyons, Bears, Eagles, and others adorn'd with Gold, and Feathers of curious Colours, artificially wrought. The Commanders who return'd Victorious were receiv'd in triumphant manner, the Conquer'd marching before them. When any Truce was concluded between *Mexico* and *Tlascala*, the *Mexicans* sent the *Tlascallans* rich Presents, of such Things as they wanted, without acquainting the People, and privately saluted one another, observing Decency. Eighteen Years before the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, the *Mexicans* thinking to subdue the *Tlascallans*, began the War with all their Power, and privately propos'd to the *Otomies*, to give them great Rewards if they would stand Neuters, when the *Tlascallans* were engag'd ; but they would not consent, and so the War was carry'd on with much Fury, taking Prisoners of both side, and putting the chief Men into Cages. Some have fancy'd that *Moteczuma* could have subdu'd that Province, and did it not for some Reasons that shall be mention'd hereafter.

THERE remains nothing to be said of the *Tlascallans*, but what relates to the Dead. The *Indians* in general were very fond of making Songs of their Actions, sung calamitous Accidents in Elegiack Verse, and wept at Funerals, eating and drinking at the dead Person's House. When a great Man dy'd, they plac'd him sitting on a Bier very finely dress'd, and adorn'd, or if he was a King the same was done, having his Diadem on his Head, and thus he was carry'd by the prime Persons, his Wives and Children lamenting, and
others

others proclaiming his notable Exploits. If the Body was burnt, those Wives he had lov'd best, cast themselves into the Fire with it, as did some Men and Women Slaves, who were said to go attend them in the other World. If they had any Dwarfs, or deformed Persons among them, those also were burnt, with much Gold, Feather Work, Cloathing, and Provisions, to serve them by the Way till they came to the Place of Joy and Residence of their Gods; for they believ'd there was a future Reward for the Good, and a Place of Punishment for the Wicked. If the Body was bury'd in arch'd Sepulchres they us'd, then the same Persons were also bury'd with it alive.

Cortes being satisfy'd that his Friendship with the *Tlascallans* was establish'd, propos'd his Journey to *Mexico*, and though they represented to him the Power of *Moteczuma*, the Strength of the City, the Danger he was running into among the *Culúas*, who they said were given to Change, and Faithless, as also their Multitude; in Conclusion, to please him, they consented to all he said, and offer'd to assist him, if he would make War, or to bear him Company, if, as he said, he only design'd to visit *Moteczuma*. Accordingly, they immediately began to appoint Commanders, raise Men, and lay up Provisions. The Fame of the Alliance between the *Spaniards* and the *Tlascallans* being spread Abroad, put all the Country into a Consternation, and especially *Moteczuma*, who was still resolv'd to obstruct *Cortes's* coming to *Mexico*, though at the same Time, in order to draw him from *Tlascala*, he propos'd his removing to *Chulula*, where he would be better entertain'd. The *Tlascallans* earnestly oppos'd it, and zealously offer'd fifty thousand Men to attend him; because the People of *Chulula*, after having been long at Peace with them, being corrupted by *Moteczuma*, had in a Battle they had with the *Mexicans*, in

which

which the *Tlascallans* led the Van, fallen in upon their Rear, and kill'd many of them; since which time they had been Enemies. The *Tlascallans* advis'd *Cortes* to consider, that the *Chulullans* said, they did not fear him, because their God *Quetzalcoatl* was so powerful, that he would destroy his Men with Fire from Heaven, or drown them with Water; that the *Tlascallans* might go with them, who like base Cowards, had so soon submitted to a strange Nation, and therefore deserv'd to be severely punish'd; that they were a degenerate People, having lost the Reputation of the immortal Renown of the *Chichimecas*, who first inhabited that Country; that they might come like vain mad Men as they were, and should be soon sensible of the Omnipotency of their God *Quetzalcoatl*, who would send Streams of Water out of his Temple to consume them and the *Spaniards*. Nor were the *Tlascallans* a little afraid that the same would fall out as those People said.

NINE Sons of the prime Men of the Quarter of *Ocotelulco* were appointed Commanders of the Troops that were to attend *Cortes* from thence, whose Device was a green Bird on a Rock. The other Quarters nominated thirteen Commanders, and the Arms of the Quarter of *Quiyabuitzlan* were, a Plume of green Feathers, in the manner of an Umbrella, and half a Fan; those of the Quarter of *Tizatlan* were, a white Heron on a Rock; and those of the Ward of *Tepeticpac*, a ravenous Wolf on Rocks, holding a Bow and Arrows. The several Commanders had also their peculiar Colours, and all were very gay, and with Plumes of Feathers after their manner. Certain it is, that the *Tlascallans* were very dubious of the Event of that Journey, being apprehensive of the *Chulullans*, and bearing much Respect to their City, for as much as it was a Place of great Devotion, and reputed Sanctity among them.

them. *Cortes*, by the Advice of the Lords of the four great Wards of *Tlascala*, sent to call those that govern'd at *Chulula* to him. The *Tlascallan* Messengers bid them to go at the Command of *Cortes*, otherwise they would be destroy'd by the fiery Engines, by the fierce Creatures, and white dreadful Weapons, and by the furious Lyons, so they call'd the Dogs. The *Chulullans* on the one Hand excus'd themselves, alledging, that they were Sick, and at the same Time flead the Face of *Patlahuatzin*, a Man of Quality, and his Arms as far as his Elbows, and cut off his Hands, of which he dy'd; as *Camargo*, in his History of *Tlascala* asserts, and that the *Tlascallans* to this Day keep up the Memory of this Fact in their Songs, where they say, that Gentleman was the Chief of the Embassy. Others say, that *Ferome de Aguilar* went with them, to endeavour to bring the *Chulullans* to reason; and that they repair'd to *Cortes*, to show their Submission. The *Tlascallans* were much provok'd by this Cruelty, looking upon it as a great Affront, begging of *Cortes*, that he would give them Leave to take their Revenge; but he promising to do it himself, and giving them good Words, they rested satisfy'd. The *Chulullans* that came to *Cortes* were three of the Council, who had been shut up in a Cage by the other three, for having advis'd to admit of the Alliance of the *Spaniards*, and they having broke out of the Cage, by the help of their Friends, went away to *Cortes*.

EIGHT Leagues from the City of *Tlascala* is the Mountain call'd *Popocatepec*, the Top whereof always smoak'd, and whilst the *Spaniards* were at *Tlascala*, and for some Time after, it cast out more Fire than usual, to the great Astonishment of the Natives. *James de Ordas* took a Fancy to see that Wonder, for till then it was a strange Thing to the *Spaniards*, and the *Indians* affirm'd, that no Mortal had ever been at the Top of

that Mountain. Cortes, to show the *Indians* that the *Spaniards* made small Account of what they thought impracticable, was well pleas'd that *Ordas* should go upon that Action. He took with him some *Spaniards*, and a few *Indians* for Guides, who stopp'd at a certain Distance, and *Ordas* advancing, they heard the dreadful Noise there was within, felt the Earth quake, and arriv'd at the Place to which the Fire and Stones cast out of the Mountains reach'd, the great Quantity of Ashes choaking up the Way. These Things making some uneasy, and being very weary with going up, they would willingly have turn'd back; but *Ordas* telling them it was a Shame for *Spaniards* who had undertaken any thing, not to go through with it, tho' at the Expence of their Lives, they advanc'd courageously, making their way through the Ashes; and arriving at length at the Top, through a thick Smoak, for some Time view'd the Mouth, which seem'd to them to be round, and above a Quarter of a League in Compass, with a deep Cavity, within the which the Fire rag'd as it does in a Glasse-house. From that Eminence appear'd the great City of *Mexico*, seated in its Lake, and the other noted Towns about it. Not being able to make any longer Stay, by reason of the excessive Heat, he return'd the same Way he came for the Benefit of the Track. This burning Mountain was another Time view'd by *Andrew de Tapia*, and afterwards by *Montaño* and *Mesa*, as shall be mention'd in its Place. The *Indians* being astonish'd that mortal Men should do such an Action, kiss'd their Garments, believing that to be one of the Mouths of Hell, where such Lords as were Tyrants suffer'd for their Sins, and afterwards went to rest. The *Spaniards* call'd this Mountain *Bolcan*, because it was like *Montebelo*, or Mount *Aetna* in *Sicily*. It is so high, that it is seen at many Leagues distance, never without Snow,

and about it is the most populous and fruitful Land in *New Spain*. The nearest Town is *Guaxocingo*, large, plentiful, and sightly, standing at the Bottom. This Hill for ten Years together cast forth no Smoak, and in 1540 began again with such a prodigious Smoak and Noise, as struck a Terror for four Leagues about, and the Ashes that came from it flew as far as *Guaxocingo*, *Quetlaxcopan*, *Tepeaca*, *Clulula*, and *Tlascala*, destroying Plants, and Trees, and doing other Mischief, which put the nearest Inhabitants into such a Fright, that they had Thoughts of abandoning the Country.

The End of the Fourth Book.



R r 2

THE



THE
General HISTORY
Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of
A M E R I C A, &c.

D E C A D. II. B O O K V.

C H A P. I.

Cortes *marches out of Tlascala, arrives at Chulula; chastizes those People for conspiring to destroy him; Motezuma invites him to Mexico, but endeavours to deter him; he sets out; a Mutiny among his Men; he appeases it.*



CORTES being much press'd by Motezuma's Embassadors to depart out of *Tlascala*, they always endeavouring to raise a Jealousy in him of that Nation, and being willing to ease the *Tlascallans* of the great Dread they had conceiv'd of the Gods of *Chulula*, he resolv'd to remove to this
last

last Place, after he had resided twenty Days in *Tlascala*, and been thoroughly inform'd of all that related to the City of *Mexico*, its Situation, and the Power of *Moteczuma*, and his Empire; and having before his Departure concluded a Peace between *Guarocingo* and *Tlascala*, obliging both Parties to restore all that had been taken during the War. He was attended at his Setting out by one hundred thousand Men; many being much concern'd at his going upon that Enterprize, believing he would be lost, and others concluding that his Valour would extricate him from all Difficulties. An infinite Number of the common People flock'd to see the *Spaniards* march; the Fields were throng'd with Women and Children, who never thought they could gaze enough on those People, admiring their Boldness in venturing to go to *Mexico*, which to them was very amazing. In this Astonishment some of them cry'd, "Your great God protect you, and grant you Victory over those our Enemies." Others said, "It is but fit that the wicked *Moteczuma* feel the Effects of your Valour." What they most admir'd was the small Number of the *Spaniards*. Merchants went along with them to trade for Cotton, and Salt. The *Chulullans*, to whom the Interpreter *Aguilar* had protested, that *Cortes* would make War with them, unless they went to submit themselves to the King of *Spain*, being inform'd, that he was upon his March, with so great an Army, sent several great Men, who said, they had not come before, because the *Tlascallans* their mortal Enemies were wicked, and false, whereas they themselves were good and sincere; and then they in solemn Manner declar'd themselves Subjects of the Crown of *Spain*. They reach'd not the City that Day, to avoid entering by Night, tho' the Distance was but five or six Leagues; but encamp'd near a Brook, where the *Chulullans* pray'd *Cortes* not to permit the *Tlascallans* to

do them any Harm. He seeing no Likelyhood of any War, order'd them to return Home, taking his Leave of the Officers with much Courtesy and Affection, and presenting them with such Things as he had, in which Particulars he was very obliging, and generous. He retain'd with him three thousand *Tlascallans*, under such Commanders as were most affectionate to him; tho' some say they were six thousand, and would not take a greater Number, to avoid putting himself into the Hands of a barbarous People, of whose Fidelity till then he had but little Tryal. The *Tlascallans* said, those People where he was going were faithless Traders, that he must be upon his Guard, because they never kept Faith, and then as an Instance mention'd how they had betray'd them. They offer'd to go to *Mexico*, whensoever they should be call'd, and declar'd they would most willingly have proceeded with their whole Army, to see the Event of that Affair; but *Cortes* told them, he was very well satisfy'd with those he had, they being worth four Times as many. The next Day above ten thousand *Chulullans* came out to meet him, in several Parcels, bringing Roses, Flowers, Bread, Fowl, and Musick. One Parcel of them came up to welcome *Cortes*, and then drew off in good Order, to give Way for another; which was done because that City being divided into six large Wards, three of them were for *Moteczuma*, and three were not. When they came to the City, which the *Spaniards* thought to be very like *Valladolid*, for its Situation, and Prospect, all the rest of the People came out, much surpriz'd at the Shape, Mien, and Weapons of the *Spaniards*. Their Priests advanc'd, in white Garments, like Surplices, their Arms naked, and Cotton Fringes about the Edges of their Robes. Some of them carry'd Idols in their Hands, and others burnt Perfumes; others sounded Hornets, beat Kettle Drums, and play'd on
several

The HISTORY of America. 311

several Sorts of Musick, all of them singing, and some perfuming the *Spaniards*.

IN this pompous Manner they enter'd *Chulula*, and went to a House, where they lodg'd all together in Safety, and their *Indians* with them, always upon their Guard, being for the present plentifully supply'd with Provisions. A few Days after *Cortes* began to observe certain bad Signs, and was told, that some of the Streets were barricado'd, and abundance of Stones laid on the Tops of the Houses, to throw down; besides that the Supplies of Provisions grew shorter, the great Men, and Commanders of the City seldom visited him, and *Moteczuma's* Embassadors started Objections against his going to *Mexico*, with more Boldness than before. Nor was this all, for the *Chulullans*, by Order of the *Mexican* Embassadors, had presum'd to tell him, that there were Alligators, Tygers, and other fierce Creatures where *Moteczuma* was, the which, if he order'd them to be turn'd loose, would devour the *Spaniards*; to which he answer'd, He could not believe that such a Prince as he would put any Affront upon those that came to visit him from so great a Monarch as the King of *Spain*, but that in case he should do so, they were to understand that those savage Animals did not hurt the *Spaniards*. These Things made him revolve with himself, how he should subdue the People of *Chulula*, and proceed upon his Journey, before some fresh Obstacle occur'd. He was inform'd that this Answer of his had been told to *Moteczuma*, who had said, that the *Spaniards* were able with their Weapons to destroy the fiercest Creatures; and hereupon he sent other Messengers with a new Present, still endeavouring to dissuade the Journey to *Mexico*, and they finding *Cortes* positive upon performing it, promis'd mighty Rewards to the Lords of the three Quarters of *Chulula*, if they would cut off the *Spaniards*, giving their Commander in chief
a Gold

a Gold Drum from *Moteczuma*, and promising to assist him with thirty thousand Men they had at Hand. That Commander undertook to perform the same, upon Condition that the *Mexicans* should not come into the City, because he fear'd they would make themselves Masters of it.

To this Effect they agreed to barricade the Streets, and then pelt the *Spaniards* from the Tops of their Houses, so that they might take and deliver them up bound, the thirty thousand *Mexicans* being so posted, that without coming into the City they might take all the *Spaniards* that should happen to escape out of it. For the better managing of this Affair, they began to convey away their Goods, and secure their Wives and Children, not on the Mountain, as *Gomara* says, because there is none near *Chulula*. Whilst *Cortes* was thus uneasy, and dissatisfy'd, observing how ill he was us'd, *Marina* acquainted him, that a Lady of Quality, her particular Friend had told her, in private, that having taken a Kindness for her, since they had been acquainted, she advis'd her, if she would avoid being kill'd with the *Spaniards*, to stay with her, and she would hide her in a House, where she should be safe; because the *Mexicans* and the *Chulullans* had agreed to destroy them, when they least thought of it, or were marching away. *Cortes*, to lose no Time, caus'd two Persons he observ'd to be very busy, and were Priests, to be seiz'd, who being examin'd asunder, and threatened, confess'd the same that *Marina* had declar'd. Hereupon he call'd to him the Prime Men and Priests, and bid them not to deal under hand, but if they had any thing to say to him, to speak plain, like Men of Honour. They answer'd they were his Servants, that he might let them know it, when he design'd to depart, and they would attend him arm'd, for fear of any Difference between him and the *Mexicans*. He told

told them, he would set out the next Day, and therefore order'd they should find Men to carry the Baggage, and furnish him with Provisions. They smil'd at it, he charg'd them to perform it out of hand, because he was resolv'd to be gone. He then call'd the *Spanish* Officers, told them how those Matters stood, and ask'd their Advice, and they all leaving the Management to him, he said he was resolv'd to make an Example of those People; which he thought the more necessary, that they might be the safer in *Mexico*.

THE next Day, the *Chulullans* thinking they had a sure Game to play, carry'd the Men that were to be loaded, with some Provisions. But for as much as those *Indians* never us'd to undertake any considerable Enterprize without consulting their Gods, they sacrific'd ten Children of three Years of Age, half Boys and half Girls, being the usual Sacrifice upon commencing a War, and if it fell out unlucky, they laid the Fault on some Defect in the performing of that Offering. Their Commanders posted themselves with as many of their Men as they could very unconcern'd, at the four Gates of the Quarters through which the *Spaniards* were to pass out. *Cortes*, who omitted nothing that was conducing to his own Safety, had order'd his Men to be at Arms, the Horse to be ready, and the *Tlascallans* and *Zempoalans* to observe when the Signal was given by firing a Musket. When all Things were to his Mind, he call'd in the principal *Chulullans*, pretending, that he would take his Leave of them. Forty of them were admitted, and more would have come, if they might; but the antientest of them being wanting, he was sent for. *Cortes* then in the Presence of the *Mexican* Embassadors, said, He had lov'd them as Friends, and they had hated him as an Enemy, as appear'd by their Usage, tho' all his Men had been orderly, and inoffensive; that they had de-

fir'd the *Tlascallans* might not come into their Country, and he, to please them, had consented to it, and that tho' he had advis'd them to deal fairly with him, and to challenge him like brave Men, if they had any Thing against him, yet they had agreed with the *Mexicans* to destroy his Forces, thinking it would not be known, for which most heinous Offence he had resolv'd to put them all to Death, and raze their City. They were for a while struck dumb, and beside themselves, and being a little recover'd, said, " This Man " is like our Gods, who know all Things ; it is in " vain to deny any Thing ; " And accordingly they confess'd, that all he said was true. Then taking four or five of them aside, he ask'd them, for what Reason they would have done such a wicked Deed. They answer'd, That *Motezuma* was so averse to his going to *Mexico*, that his Embassadors, to obstruct it, had put them upon it. *Cortés* told the Embassadors what the *Chulullans* said, but at the same Time pretended not to believe *Motezuma* could be guilty of so foul a Design, and they endeavour'd to excuse themselves. The Signal of firing a Musket being then given, the *Spaniards* sallied out, and meeting with little Opposition from the Inhabitants, tho' they were in Arms, kill'd almost six thousand of them, without touching Women, or Children, for so they had been commanded ; and set fire to all the Houses and Towers where any Resistance was made. The Cries of the *Indians* on both Sides were prodigious, and the Confusion with the Fire and Slaughter not to be express'd. Many Gentlemen got up into the Tower of the great Temple, with the Priests, where they stood upon their Defence, doing some Harm. Their Lives were offer'd them if they would surrender ; only one of them comply'd, and was well receiv'd, the rest were all burnt. The Cross-Bow Men shot those that were got up to the
 Tops

The HISTORY of *America*. 315

Tops of the Trees in the Court of the Temple, and it was observ'd, that the Priests complain'd of their Gods for not defending them. A great Part of the City was plunder'd; the *Spaniards* took the Gold, and Feather Work, tho' not much of it was found, and their *Indians* had the Cotton and the Salt, which was a great Satisfaction to them. The News of what had hapned was immediately carry'd to *Tlascala*, where the Lords of the Republick order'd their General *Xicotencatl* to march with all Speed to the Assistance of their Friends, who soon came to offer their Service, and *Cortes* having return'd Thanks, presented the General, and other Officers, and sent them back well pleas'd to *Tlascala*, where the Joy was incredible for the considerable Booty taken from their Enemies, and no less for being free from the Fire from Heaven, and Tempests, with which the *Chulullans* threatned to destroy the *Spaniards*, and all their Adherents.

THE Lords that were Prisoners, with Tears, intreated *Cortes* to put a Stop to his Resentment, since they were not so much to Blame for what had hapned as the King of *Mexico*, and to permit two of them to go see what was become of the Multitude. He thereupon order'd the Slaughter to cease, and immediately many stood up, who had lain on the Ground among the dead to avoid Death. So great was the Authority of the two Lords of the Commonwealth, whom *Cortes* permitted to go about the City, that the next Day it was full of People, and as quiet as if nothing had hapned. He set at Liberty the other Lords and Gentlemen he had taken Prisoners, at the Request of *Maxiscatzin*, and other noted Persons of *Tlascala*, and *Guaxocingo*, who had resorted to him; telling them, they might be thankful that he did not entirely subvert the City, and put them all to the Sword, for so he was wont to punish Traitors. He then propos'd a Reconciliation

316 The HISTORY of America.

ciliation between them and the *Tlascallans*, that they might be as they had been before they became Enemies through the Instigation of the King of *Mexico*, as has been said. By the Advice of *Cortes* they also made Choice of a new General, the former being dead, and that City was a Republick as well as *Tlascala*. Next he order'd the *Tlascallans*, and his other confederate *Indians* to clear the Court of the great Temple, and the nearest Streets, of the dead Bodies, because they began to stink.

Chulula was the principal Republick in all *New-Spain*, next to *Tlascala*, but the first of all in Point of Religion, wherein it surpass'd all the other *Indians*. It was a very populous City, seated in a delicious Plain, and consisting of twenty thousand Houses, besides as many more were scatter'd abroad in the Nature of Farms, the many Towers of the Temples affording a beautiful Prospect, some affirming that there are as many Temples as there are Days in the Year, and some of them having two Towers, they were reckon'd to be above four hundred; and it is attested by many, that above six thousand Children of both Sexes were there sacrific'd yearly. The Government was in a Captain General, chosen by the Republick, with six Noblemen, and the Priests, nothing being undertaken but what was first examin'd by Way of Religion; for which Reason this City was call'd the Sanctuary of the Gods. Its Territory produces much *Cochinilla*, and is very fruitful for Grain, and grazing of Cattle. The Men and Women are of a good Stature, and Aspect, and the latter addicted to Works proper for the female Sex, as Spinning, and Weaving, and not to be Goldsmiths, and Carvers, as *Gomara* was ill inform'd. There were very considerable Merchants, who traded into remote Parts; the poorer Sort were cloath'd in *Nequen*, which is the Sort of Cloth or Stuff made of *Magway*.

Magney, and the Rich wore Cotton border'd with Feather Work, and the Hair of Rabbits. In this City the *Spaniards* found Beggars, which they had not seen before in *New-Spain*, and it was told them, that they went thither in Pilgrimage, because of the Veneration paid to those Temples. The chief God was *Queza-coatl*, which signifies, the God of the Air, being the first Founder of that City, and they affirm'd he had been a Virgin, and instituted Fasting, drawing Blood from the Tongue and Ears, and sacrificing of Doves, and Turtles. He wore a white Garment down to his Feet, for Modesty, and over it a Mantle strew'd with red Crosses. They had some green Stones of his, which they preserv'd, and held in great Veneration, as Relicks; one of them very naturally resembled a Monkey's Head. There was a vast Commerce for several Things in the City, and that which the *Spaniards* most admir'd during their Stay there, was the Earthern Ware, as beautiful and fine as that of *Faenza* in *Italy*, whereof a very great Quantity was sold in the Markets.

WHAT had happed at *Chulula* was soon reported throughout all the Country, and much admir'd. The Lords of *Tepeaca* thereupon sent to offer their Service to *Cortes*, with a Present of thirty Women Slaves, and some Gold, which somewhat inclin'd the *Spaniards*, who before were unwilling to go to *Mexico*, to comply with *Cortes*. The Inhabitants of *Guaxocingo* likewise sent a Present to the Value of four thousand Pieces of Eight of wrought Gold, in a wooden Box adorn'd with Gold Plates. *Moteczuma*, who knew what was done, us'd all Arts to divert *Cortes* from going, being convinc'd it would not turn either to his Satisfaction or Interest, being very desirous to keep those strange People at a Distance from him. *Cortes* thought that whatsoever Way he might afterwards proceed,

ceed, it was requisite to take a View of that City, where he concluded he was already fear'd on Account of his past Actions, and the Fame of the Valour of his Men. He thereupon told *Motezuma's* Embassadors, that he could not conceive why so great a Prince, who had so often assur'd him of his Friendship, should endeavour to destroy him by the Hands of others, and to obstruct his Journey, which he was fully resolv'd to perform, tho' it were by Force. Having spoken these Words in a harsher Manner than he was wont to do, they were amaz'd, excus'd *Motezuma*, intreated him not to be angry, and desir'd he would permit one of them to go to *Mexico*, since the Way was short, and he would soon return with an Answer. The Messenger set out immediately, and gave *Motezuma* Notice of *Cortes's* Displeasure, and the Resolution he had taken. Six Days after he return'd with one of his Companions, who went away before. They brought him ten Gold Dishes, one thousand five hundred Cotton Garments, and a considerable Quantity of Provisions, solemnly swearing that *Motezuma* had been altogether a Stranger to what was done at *Chulula*; that the thirty thousand *Mexicans* were the Garrisons of *Acazingo* and *Azacan*, two Provinces belonging to him, and adjoining to *Chulula*, with the which they were in Alliance; that he would always be as sincerely his Friend as they had declar'd; and that he might freely go to *Mexico*, the only Reason why he had been desir'd to forbear, being the Consideration of the Difficulty and Danger of the Journey. *Cortes* was well pleas'd with this Answer, because he had not receiv'd any before so plain. It was positively affirm'd, that as soon as *Motezuma* had Advice of the Slaughter made at *Chulula*, and *Cortes's* Resolution to go to *Mexico*, he said, those were the People who (as had been foretold) were to conquer that Nation; and that then shutting himself up in the great Temple,

Temple, he continu'd there eight Days, in Prayer, Fasting, and Sacrificing abundance of Men, thinking to avert what was decreed; and that the Devil, whom he was wont to consult spoke to him, and bid him not fear, for that the Christians were few in Number, and he had many brave Subjects, and might dispose of them as he pleas'd, and therefore he must not cease sacrificing Men, lest some Disaster should befall him, but endeavour to gain the Favour of his Gods *Vuzilipuli* and *Tezcatapula*.

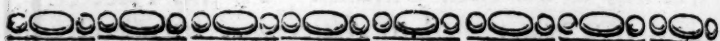
Cortes thinking it Time to proceed on his Enterprize, when he had been fourteen Days at *Chulula*, having dispos'd all Things as was most convenient, reconcil'd the Inhabitants of the City, and the *Tlascallans*, and dismiss'd the *Zempoalans*, most of them desiring to return Home for Fear. He set out attended by the Lords of *Chulula*, to the great Admiration of the *Mexican* Embassadors, who never believ'd him to be in Earnest till they saw it, and it was very remarkable to observe how they every Moment sent Advice to *Moteczuma* of all that hapned. *Cortes* would not go that Road which the *Mexicans* advis'd him, being inform'd that it was very uncooth, which they did to make out what they had said to him, but he took another that was plainer. He march'd four Leagues the first Day, and quarter'd at Night in some Villages belonging to *Guaxocingo*, where the *Spaniards* were well entertain'd. They gave *Cortes* a Present of Gold, and Cotton Garments, tho' small, because they were poor, being much oppress'd by *Moteczuma*, and now they are rich by the Growth of the *Cochinile*, and other Product. The next Day, after Noon, they march'd through a Pass, between two snowy Mountains, being two Leagues up to the Top, where the Enemy might have distress'd them by reason of the Narrowness of the Way, and the Violence of the Cold, which was such, that the
Men

Men could scarce speak, or carry their Arms. From thence they discover'd the Lands of *Mexico*, and the Lake, with the Towns about it, which was one of the finest Prospects in the World, there being about thirty beautiful Cities, and the Country delightful. Some *Spaniards* said, that was their Land of Promise, and that the more Enemies the more Profit. Others who consider'd more seriously, were sensible of the great Danger they were running themselves into, and said, It was tempting God for so small a Number to venture among such a Multitude of People, without knowing how they should get off again. This occasion'd a private Mutiny, or Commotion; but *Cortes* soon quell'd it by his Resolution, and Conduct, encouraging some, putting some in Hopes of great Wealth, and proposing Honour to others. They lay one Night on the Top of the Pass, where *Martin Lopez* standing Sentinel in the dark, discovering a Bulk, presented his Cross-Bow, and was just going to let fly, when *Cortes* spoke, and said, Ho the Watch, and had he not spoke the Sentinel had kill'd him. This was a Warning to him not to come so near the Sentinels for the future, and he look'd upon this as one of his fortunate Adventures. A great Outcry was heard, and the Guard kill'd fifteen *Mexicans*, whom they suppos'd to be Spies. The next Day they found many Trees laid across the Way down the Pass, and a great Ditch, where many Men might have lain in Ambush.

BEING come down into the Plain, the *Spaniards* took up their Quarters in a Country House, that had many Appartments, and was surrounded with abundance of Greens. The *Indians* soon made a great Number of Barracks, where they lay, being about six thousand *Tlascallans*, *Zempoalans*, *Guetocingans*, and *Chulullans*, who by Way of Distinction from the rest, wore on their Heads Garlands of a Sort of Fern, and they had
a good

a good Supper, and *Moteczuma's* Subjects carry'd them Women, as was their Custom. To this Place came a Lord, that was related to *Moteczuma*, attended by many Gentlemen, to visit *Cortes*, and presented him to the Value of about three thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold. He desir'd him to turn back, because there was no Way to go into *Mexico*, but in little Boats, and that by the Way he would find much Trouble, Want of Provisions, and Sickness, by reason of the Dampness, and ill Climate of the Country, assuring, that *Moteczuma* would deliver to him at the Sea Side the Tribute he should require for his King, and much Wealth for himself, to go back well satisfy'd into his own Country. *Cortes* did that Nobleman much Honour, giving him and all his Retinue several *Spanish* Rarities, and answering, That his going to *Mexico* could not be any Way offensive to *Moteczuma*, since he design'd nothing but to serve him, kiss his Hands, and return; which he pray'd him not to take in ill Part, because it was what his Sovereign Master the King had commanded, and as he had an Embassy to deliver from the great King of *Spain*, he was oblig'd to hear it, and be his Friend, since he sent so far to compliment him; that the Water of their Lake was nothing in Comparison of the Sea they had cross'd, and as for Hunger, his Companions had been so much enur'd to it during that long Voyage, that they made no Account of it.





C H A P. II.

Cortes marches on towards Mexico, arrives at Tezcuco, and Yztacpalapa; Motezuma comes out in Person to meet him; the Manner of the Reception; and the Discourse that pass'd between them then, and at a Visit.

MOTEZUMA was immediately inform'd of all that has been said, by some of his People, tho' most of them stay'd among the *Spaniards*, and for as much as it was suspected that they were privately arm'd, to fall upon them by Surprise, *Cortes* bid the *Mexican* Lords not to stir in the Quarters of the *Spaniards* at Night, because they never slept or laid aside their Weapons, and were wont to kill all that came among them. Notwithstanding all this Precaution some Spies were employ'd out of the Way, to find whether that were so, and the Sentinels kill'd three or four of them, being forewarn'd, which prov'd so advantageous, that the *Mexicans* afterwards took up their Quarters very far from the *Spaniards*. They were now in the Province of *Culúa*, which is rather cold than hot, full of Gardens, and Groves, the Waters very sweet, and abundance of Hart Cherry-Trees, the Fruit that was found most like to any in *Spain*.

The HISTORY of *America*. 323

THE next Day they march'd to a Town two Leagues from the Country House where they had lain, call'd *Amacameca*, in the Province of *Chalco*. The Lord came out to meet *Cortes*, with a great Retinue; gave him forty Women Slaves, the value of three thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, and Provisions for two Days, and privately told him in what tyrannical Manner *Moteczuma* treated him, and all others. He comforted, encourag'd, and gave him some Toys, so that they parted very great Friends. The Army advanc'd from thence to a small Town, half the Houses whereof are within the Lake, and the other half at the Foot of an uncooth stony Mountain. Many of the King's Servants kept along with the Army, supplying it with all Necessaries, and that Night they design'd to have murder'd all the *Spaniards*; but *Cortes* was so watchful, that his Sentinels, and a small extraordinary *Corps de Garde* he had appointed, kill'd twenty Men that were to view the Quarters. The next Morning before they set out, abundance of People came from *Mexico*, and many Gentlemen, attending on *Cacamazin*, Nephew to *Moteczuma*, Lord of *Texcucuo*, a Youth about twenty-five Years of Age, who was richly clad, and carry'd on a Sort of Bier on Men's Shoulders, and when he alighted some went before, sweeping the Way he was to go. *Cortes* came out of his Tent to meet him, paying him much Respect, and treating the others very courteously, Twelve Noblemen went with him into the Tent, and *Cacamazin* with much State and Gravity, said, That he and those Gentlemen were come to wait on him, adding to excuse his Unkle, that he came not in Person because he was indispos'd. *Cortes* answer'd him fully, and yet *Cacamazin* insisted, that it was not fit for him to go to *Mexico*, because he suspected that there might be some Difficulty in his Admittance, or that

it would be oppos'd. *Cortes* gave him a considerable Present of such Things as he had, treating him in a very courteous and loving Manner, but held on his Way, and it was wonderful to see what a Multitude of People came out from *Mexico*, and the other Towns on the Lake, to see the *Spaniards*, admiring their Habit, Beards, Arms, Horses, and the Strangeness that appear'd in every Particular, saying, *These are truly Gods*. *Cortes* warn'd them not to cross the Soldier's Ranks, not to come near the Horses, nor to touch their Garments, which would immediately cost them their Lives; lest growing familiar with his Soldiers they should fear them the less. They came to *Texcoco*, which was twice as big as *Sevil*, the Streets very regular, the Houses beautiful, and is seated in a Plain, on the salt Lake, and has fresh Water in Pipes brought from the Mountain to every House, which makes it a very agreeable Habitation. From thence they proceeded to *Quisilavaca*, which they call'd *Venezuela*, or little *Venice*, containing about two thousand Houses, all in the Water, pleasant, and plentifully supply'd with Fish. They enter'd it along a Causeway above twenty Foot broad, and above half a League in Length, with good Houses and Towers, and the Lord of the Place came out to meet *Cortes*, furnish'd the Forces with Necessaries, and at his Request they stay'd there that Night. He discours'd *Cortes* in private, declaring how much he wish'd to be discharg'd from his Subjection to *Moteczuma*, made grievous Complaints against him, adding, that if he and his were Gods, as they seem'd to be, he ought to set many great Men at Liberty, who would all be assisting to him. He comforted, and assur'd him, that the great Monarch *Moteczuma* would do whatsoever he should ask of him. As for the Way to *Mexico* that Lord assur'd him it was all good, being
along

along a Causeway much broader than that which had led him thither.

HAVING receiv'd this Account, *Cortes* set out better satisfy'd, having before resolv'd to make Boats to enter into *Mexico*, and nevertheless he was afraid lest they should break down the Causeways. He march'd upon his Guard, sending some Horsemen before, to see how Matters stood, and considering the immense Multitude of People that appear'd, some still continu'd to put him in Mind of the Instability of Fortune in martial Affairs, but he always appear'd undaunted, and encourag'd the Men, promising them great Advantages. At the Request of *Cacamazin*, he went two Leagues farther to *Xtacpalapa*, a Town belonging to another of *Moteczuma's* Nephews, who came out to meet him, with the Lord of *Cuyoacan*, another Prince of the Royal Family. With them came an infinite Multitude of People, besides those that were on the Causeway. They presented him with Women Slaves, Plumes of Feathers, Garments, and to the Value of four thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold. The Lord of *Xtacpalapa* made a Speech, bidding *Cortes* welcome in the King's Name. *Cortes* answer'd very discreetly, and presented them some Toys, which were more acceptable for the Rarity than the Value. At *Xtacpalapa* he was well entertain'd, in a House that had large Courts, upper and lower Floors, and very delightful Gardens. The Walls were of Stone, the Timber Work well wrought, there were many and spacious Rooms, hung with Cotton Hangings extraordinary rich in their Way. On one Side of it was an Orchard, with abundance of Fruit and Greens; the Walks were all enclos'd with Reeds interwoven, cover'd with odoriferous Roses and Flowers. There were Ponds of fresh Water with much Fish in them; one of them was four hundred Faces square, that is one thousand six hundred about, with

with Steps to go down to the Water, and to the Bottom. Such Numbers of small Herons, wild Ducks, Gulls, and other Sorts of Fowls resorted to the Lakes, that they were sometimes cover'd. This City contain'd ten thousand Houses, the one half of them in the Salt Lake, and the other on the Continent. On the Way from it to *Mexico* is a Spring of good Water, encompass'd with tall Trees. *Cortes* attentively observ'd all these Particulars, and consider'd the Grandeur of *Mexico*, and he is reported to have rejoyc'd very much, and to have bid some of his best Friends to cheer up, for they should soon receive the Reward of all their Labours.

Motezuma desir'd nothing more than to obstruct *Cortes's* coming to *Mexico*, and to that Purpose made use of all the Arts that have been mention'd; and when he was at *Tzacpalapa*, he sent some Gentlemen as from themselves artfully to advise him to go back, representing to him many Dangers, and offering to give him whatsoever he should demand. *Tench*, the Nobleman of *Zempoala*, being inform'd of what they had said, told *Cortes* he should not give Credit to those Difficulties and Dangers they talk'd of, for he had been himself in *Mexico*, and offer'd to conduct him to the King's Palace along a very fine Causeway. *Cortes* then advancing, order'd an *Indian* to go before, and make Proclamation as he went, in the *Mexican* Language, that no Man should offer to cross the Way, for if any did, they should be immediately kill'd upon the Spot; which prov'd of great Use, that his Men might have Room to march, notwithstanding the Crowd of the People. *Tzacpalapa* is two Leagues from *Mexico*, all along a Causeway, so broad that eight Horsemen can easily go a-breast, and it is so strait, that were it not for one Angle it forms, the Gates of *Mexico* might be seen at the first setting out. On the Sides of it are
Mexicaltzinzo,

Mexicalizingo, a Town of four thousand Houses, seated in the Water; *Cuyoacan* of six thousand Houses on the Land Side, very beautiful, healthy, and pleasant, and *Hinciloputcheo* of five thousand Houses. In these three Towns, during their continuing Pagans, there were many Temples, and high Towers, all over plaster'd with white Lime, which when the Sun shin'd upon them, at a Distance look'd like Silver, being a great Ornament to those Places, and now they are Monasteries. There was in them a great Trade of Salt, but not white, nor agreeable to eat, especially to the Spaniards, yet good for salting of Meat. It is made of the Surface of the Earth that is near the Lake, and full of Saltpetre, the Lumps of it are round, almost of a Brick Colour, and they yielded *Moteczuma* a very great Revenue, the Trade of it still continues, being carry'd very far. On the Causeway there were Drawbridges, at certain Distances over the Openings, through which the Water runs out of the one Lake into the other. The fresh Water Lake is higher than the Salt, and tho' it runs into the other, they do not mix much, by reason of the Causeways that part them.

Cortes had three hundred Spaniards, tho' *Gomara* says they were four hundred, and when they march'd out of *Tlascala*, their Number seem'd so small to him, that fancying some stay'd behind, he sent *Peter de Alvarado* to fetch them out, and he found none. The Indian Confederates that follow'd him were six thousand, for some *Tlascallans*, *Chulullans*, and others, had join'd him at *Chulula*. Being come near to *Mexico*, where another Causeway joyns the former, he there found a Stone Bulwark, two Fathoms high, with two Towers at the Ends, and between them a Breastwork with Battlements, and two Gates. There *Cortes* halted, because four thousand Gentlemen of the Court, richly clad all in the same Livery, came out to meet him. Every
one

one of them, when he came to the Place where *Cortes* was, made his Obeysance, touching the Ground with his Right Hand, and kissing it, and passing along, return'd to the Place from whence he came. This took up a full Hour, and was a goodly Sight; and in that very Place, *Cortes* afterwards fix'd his Attack, when he besieg'd *Mexico*. The Causeway runs on from the Bulwark, and at the End of the Street it goes towards a wooden Draw-Bridge, ten Paces wide, under which the Water ran, it is now of Stone, and near the House that *Peter de Alvarado* built. To this Bridge the King himself advanc'd to meet *Cortes*, under a Canopy of green Feathers and Gold, with many curious Works hanging about it, carry'd on the Heads of four Lords. Before him walk'd three Lords, one after another, each of them holding a Gold Rod upright, in the Nature of Scepters; which were carry'd before *Motezuma* every Time he went abroad, either by Land or Water, like a Standard, or Token that the great Lord was there, to the End that all who were in the Way, tho' they did not see him, might pay the due Respect. Two principal Lords, being his Brother *Quethauac*, and his Nephew *Cacamacin* led him by the Arms. They were all richly clad, and after the same Manner, bating that the King had Golden Shoes, which they call *Zagles*, being like those of the ancient *Romans*, and on them many precious Stones of great Value, the Soles fastned with Thongs. The two Lords that led him were barefoot, for the Respect they paid him was so great, that no Man durst come into his Presence without taking off his Shoes, or might they lift up their Eyes. Several of his Servants went before, two and two, spreading Cloths on the Ground that he might not tread on it. At a small Distance behind him two hundred great Men walk'd in Procession, all of them barefoot, and in a richer Livery than the three thousand

land that went before him. *Moteczuma* kept along the Middle of the Street, and the two hundred that follow'd him as close to the Walls as they could, their Eyes fix'd on the Ground, because it was accounted as a Disrespect to look on his Face. As soon as *Cortes* saw him, he alighted from his Horse at a small Distance, with some Gentlemen, and drawing near made his Obeysance, after the Manner of *Spain*. Those that led *Moteczuma* stopp'd *Cortes*, thinking it a grievous Sin that any Man should touch him, he being held as some Deity. They saluted one another after their Manner, *Moteczuma* touching the Ground with his Hand, and kissing it, a Ceremony us'd among the *Indians*, and then bid him welcome. *Cortes* return'd Thanks for having come out to meet him, and put about his Neck a Collar of glass Diamonds, and other precious Stones, with some Enamel. *Moteczuma* bow'd a little, in token of accepting the Present. He went on a little before, with the Nephew that led him by the Arm, and order'd the other to stay and wait upon *Cortes*, leading him by the Hand along the Middle of the Street, not permitting any *Spaniard* or *Indian* to come near. This was the greatest Honour *Moteczuma*, being so great a Prince could do *Cortes*. The two hundred Gentlemen in one Livery, that went behind, as soon as they turn'd about came one by one to welcome him, and the Day would have been too short if all the Nobility in the City were to have done the like; but the King going before, they all turn'd their Faces to the Wall in Token of Respect, so that the others who were behind could not come up. The King was much pleas'd with the Collar *Cortes* gave him, because tho' not costly, it was gay, sightly, and very strange to him, and that he might not be thought to fall short in any thing that became a great Prince, he call'd two Officers of his Bedchamber, and bid them

bring two Collars of large red Prawns, as big as great Snails, or Wallnuts, which they put a great Value upon, at every one of which hung eight Gold Prawns, wrought exactly to the Life, and about half a Foot long. When brought, the King stopp'd till *Cortes* came up, and with his own Hands threw them upon his Neck. The *Indians* were amaz'd that *Motexuma* should do *Cortes* so singular a Favour, for he had never done the like to any other Man, and thus he gain'd Reputation among them.

THE Street they went through was about a Mile in Length, wide, strait, and very beautiful, with Houses on both Sides. *Mexico*, as shall more particularly be taken Notice of in its Place, has the best Streets and Houses on the one Side, of any Place that is known in the World. The Doors, Windows, and Terrasses of those long Streets were throng'd with such a Multitude of People as was to be admir'd, and they wonder'd at the Strangeness of our Men, their Beards, Faces, Habits, Horses, Arms, and Guns, and said, Certainly these are Gods, that come from those Parts where the Sun rises. The old Men, who were most knowing in their Antiquities, and the Memorials of their Gentility, sighing said, These doubtless are the Men that will Lord it over us, and our Country, since being so few in Number, they have vanquish'd so many Nations. The *Spaniards* were astonish'd to see such a Multitude of People as they had never imagin'd. They came to a very large Court, which was the Wardrobe of the Idols, and had been the House of *Axayacatzin*, *Motexuma's* Father. At the Door of it the King took *Cortes* by the Hand, led him into a spacious Room, plac'd him on a rich elevated Place, adorn'd with Gold and precious Stones, and said to him, "You are in
" your own House, eat, rest, and take your Pleasure,
" for I will soon return." *Cortes* made him profound
Obeyfance,

The HISTORY of *America*. 331

Obeysance, without answering one Word. This was the Reception that mighty Prince made *Cortes*, in that vast City of *Mexico*, on the 8th of *November* 1519; he being lodg'd in so large a House, that tho' it seems incredible, contain'd so many spacious Rooms, with Bed-chambers, that one hundred and fifty *Spaniards* could all lie single. It was also worth observing, that though the House was so big, every Part of it to the least Corner was very clean, neat, matted and hung with Hangings of Cotton and Feather Work of several Colours, and had Beds of Mats with Pavillions over them, no Man of what Quality soever having any other sort of Bed, no others being us'd. There was Fire with Perfumes in every Chamber, and so many Men Servants every where as sufficiently discover'd the Grandeur of that Prince. When *Motezuma* was gone, *Cortes* assign'd every one his Apartment, placing the Artillery before the Door; and when he had order'd all that was requisite, the prime Men serving him in such Quality as is usual in the Houses of the greatest Persons, the rest in Honour to him, and because it was then convenient, stood in Order about the Walls. In short, when they had all din'd and rested, *Motezuma* return'd, *Cortes* went out to meet him, they both walk'd together to the rais'd Part of the Room, and when they were seated in the Presence of many *Mexican* Gentlemen, and *Cortes's* chief Commanders, *Motezuma* gave *Cortes* many costly Jewels of Gold, Silver, Feather Work, and six thousand rich Cotton Garments. *Cortes* return'd Thanks for that noble Present; wherein he show'd his good Breeding and Discretion, and then *Motezuma* turning to him by means of the two Interpreters *Aguilar* and *Marina*, spoke as follows:

U u 2

“ Noble

“ Noble Valourous Commander, and you Gentle-
 “ men that are come with him, I call to Witnefs the
 “ Gentlemen and Servants of my Houſhold, that it
 “ is a great Satisfaction to me to have ſuch Gueſts,
 “ that I may entertain you as you deſerve; and if I
 “ hitherto deſir’d you not to come to *Mexico*, it was
 “ on Account of the great Dread my People had con-
 “ ceiv’d of yours; for beſides that every one of them
 “ can vanquiſh many of ours, you frighted them
 “ with the Strangenefs of your Habit, and Perſons,
 “ and of thoſe Creatures you have bigger than Stags,
 “ and becauſe you made the Earth quake with the
 “ Thunder and Lightning of Heaven; as alſo be-
 “ cauſe they ſaid you made ſuch dreadful Wounds
 “ with your Swords, that you could cut Men off in
 “ the Middle. It was likewise reported, that you
 “ were very fond of what was not your own, and al-
 “ together intent upon commanding; that you were
 “ very greedy of Gold and Silver; and that every
 “ one of you did eat as much as ten of ours, beſides
 “ many other Things that made us very inclinable not
 “ to permit you to enter theſe Kingdoms; but being
 “ now ſatisfy’d by the Converſation my Men have had
 “ with yours, that you are mortal Men like us, tho’
 “ much braver, and good natur’d, Friends to your
 “ Friends, enur’d to Labour, and that you have done
 “ no Harm without much Provocation, defending
 “ your own Perſons, and protecting thoſe that came
 “ to you in Diſtreſs; I have ſeen the Horſes, which
 “ are like great Stags, and the Guns that reſemble
 “ Trunks, and therefore I look upon what was ſaid of
 “ you at firſt as a Jeſt, tho’ the *Tlaſcallans* your Friends
 “ at firſt were of the ſame Opinion as I, and being
 “ now undeceiv’d, I do not only account you my
 “ great Friends, but very near Relations; for my Fa-
 “ ther told me he heard his Father ſay, that our Ance-
 “ ſtors,

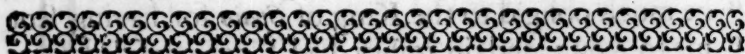
" stors, and the Kings from whom I descend were not
 " Natives of this Country, but Strangers, who co-
 " ming with a great Lord, that soon after return'd to
 " his own Country, being most powerful, made them-
 " selves Masters of this Kingdom, which belong'd to
 " the *Otomies*; and many Years after, that Lord came
 " again for them, but they would not return home,
 " because they were marry'd here, and had Children,
 " and Authority. That Lord went away much dis-
 " pleas'd with them, and told them at parting, that
 " he would send his Descendents to govern and keep
 " them in Peace, and in the Laws and Religion of their
 " Forefathers, and that if they would not accept of
 " it freely, they should be compell'd to it by Force.
 " For this reason we have always believ'd that the
 " People from those Parts would come to subdue, and
 " command us, and I am of Opinion you are they,
 " because of the Parts you come from, and the Know-
 " ledge that great King who sends you has of us.
 " Therefore, worthy Commander, be assur'd that we
 " will obey you, if you do not impose on us, and
 " will Share what we have with you; and tho' what
 " I have said were not so certain, you deserve all good
 " Usage on Account of your Virtue, and if you fan-
 " cy that I am a God, and that, as some falsely ima-
 " gine I turn myself when I please into a Lyon, a
 " Tyger, or a Serpent, that is a meer Fiction, for I
 " am a mortal Man like others;" And so saying he
 " pinch'd his hand, and proceeded, " Touch my Body,
 " for it is Flesh and Bone, tho' as a King I am above
 " others, on Account of the Dignity and Prehemi-
 " nence in which the God's have plac'd me. The
 " *Tlascallans*, *Zempoalans* and *Guaxocingans* have per-
 " haps also said, that the Tops and Walls of my Houses
 " are of Gold; some of them having rebell'd upon your
 " coming, but I shall soon humble their Pride. The
 " Houses

" Houses you see are of Timber, and Clay, and some
 " of the better Sort of Stone; as for the rest, it is
 " true I have Wealth, and Treasures, which I have
 " inherited from my Parents, and Predecessors, and
 " have been preserv'd for many Ages down to this
 " Time; and in them there is a great quantity of Gold,
 " Silver, Pearls, precious Stones, extraordinary costly
 " Jewels, Feathers and Arms, as is usual for Kings to
 " have, who are of antient Descent, all which you
 " and your Companions shall have and enjoy, when-
 " soever you please, for I have kept it for you." When
 he utter'd these Words his Heart relented so much
 that he could not forbear letting fall Tears, and conclu-
 ding his Speech, said, " In the mean Time take your
 " Ease, for you must needs be weary."

Cortes making a low Obeysance, with a chearful
 Countenance answer'd as follows. " Most potent Prince,
 " be assur'd that my coming hither has been to know,
 " and to salute you in the Name of the great King of
 " *Castile and Leon*, my Sovereign, who is well inform'd
 " of your Grandeur; and the farther he is remov'd at
 " a Distance from you, the more he covets your Friend-
 " ship, and has sent me more particularly to discourse
 " you about Matters of Religion, because he looks up-
 " on you and yours to be much in the wrong, and
 " therefore desires that you and they may be deliver'd
 " from that Blindness in which the Devil holds you.
 " I will also impart to you many Things that will be
 " conducing to the good Government of your King-
 " dom, because wanting Letters you have not been able
 " to attain to the Knowledge of those Sciences which
 " the Ancients handed to us; in which are couch'd
 " the Laws and Precepts for living virtuously, and fix-
 " ing a Principle to know what is expedient for the
 " Salvation of Souls, which are immortal, and being
 " of Necessity separated from their Bodies by Death,
 " are

“ are to go give a strict Account of the Good, or Evil
 “ they have done to one only God, the true Judge,
 “ who will bestow eternal Rest on those who have led
 “ good Lives, and everlasting Torments on such as
 “ have done ill. Thus, if you will give ear to, and
 “ well understand what I shall say to you hereafter,
 “ you will look upon our coming as a Happiness, and
 “ be much oblig’d to the King of *Spain* for having sent
 “ me to you; and in reality had I not confided very
 “ much on your good Disposition, I should not have
 “ been so positive in my Resolution to see and salute
 “ you; and I am undeceiv’d as to what had been said
 “ to me concerning you, for I see the contrary with
 “ my own Eyes, and that you are a Man like us, meek,
 “ peaceable, courteous, a Lover of Justice, generous,
 “ and a Prince in all Points, as has appear’d by your
 “ Actions, so perfect and accomplish’d, that our great
 “ God will not permit you to dye in the Error and Ig-
 “ norance in which the Devil holds you; and I am
 “ well assur’d, that the great Lord you expect is the
 “ King, my Sovereign, of the Race, and Country of
 “ your Predecessors, and therefore receive, love and
 “ embrace us, as belonging to him, for we come only
 “ to serve, instruct, and give you all Pleasure and Satis-
 “ faction. Set your Heart at rest, and do not imagine
 “ there is any more in it than what we tell you. As
 “ to the Offer you make me of your Treasures, I kiss
 “ your Hands for that great Generosity, and you may
 “ rest satisfy’d that our Persons can do you more Ser-
 “ vice than all that Wealth.” *Moteczuma* who had
 been very attentive, laying aside all Jealousy, embrac’d
Cortes, offering himself and his House over again, and
 ask’d, whether those with the Beards were all his Sub-
 jects, or his Slaves, that he might treat every one as
 was proper. *Cortes* told him, that most of them were
 his Brothers, Friends, and Companions; but that a-
 mong

mong them some were of a higher Degree than others. *Moteczuma* went away, and enquir'd of the Interpreters, which were the principal Persons, and then sent every one a Present suitable to his Quality, the same being carry'd by Persons of proportionable Rank to those they went to.



C H A P. III.

How Moteczuma was serv'd at Meals; how he gave Audience; his Diversions; his Women and Houses; the Game of Ball; the great Dance; the Grandeur of his Palace, and other Particulars.



MOTEZUMA did always eat alone, and so great a Quantity of Meat was serv'd up to his Table, such great Variety, and so differently dress'd, that there was sufficient for all the prime Men of his Household. His Table was a Cushion, or two Pieces of colour'd Leather; instead of a Chair, a little low Stool, made of one Piece, the Seat hollow'd out, carv'd and painted in the best manner that could be; the Table-cloth, Napkins, and Towels of very fine Cotton, as white as Snow, and never serv'd any more than once, being the Fees of the proper Officers. The Meat was brought up by four hundred Pages, all Gentlemen, Sons of Lords, and set down all together in a Hall; the King went thither, and with a

Rod,

Rod, or his Hand pointed to what he lik'd, and then the Sewer set it upon Chafingdishes, that it might not be cold; and this he never fail'd to do unless the Stewards at any Time very much recommended to him some particular Dishes. Before he sat down, twenty of the most beautiful Women came and brought him Water to wash his Hands, and when seated the Sewer did shut a wooded Rail, that divided the Room, lest the Nobility that went to see him Dine should encumber the Table, and he alone set on and took off the Dishes, for the Pages neither came near, nor spoke a Word. Strict silence was observ'd, none daring to speak, unless it were some Jester, or the Person of whom he ask'd any Question. The Sewer was always upon his Knees, and barefoot attending him, without lifting up his Eyes. No Man with Shoes on was to come into the Room, upon Pain of Death. The Sewer also gave him Drink, in a Cup of several Shapes, sometimes of Gold, and sometimes of Silver, sometimes of Gourd, and sometimes of the Shells of Fishes. Six ancient Lords attended at a Distance, to whom he gave some Dishes of what he lik'd best, which they did eat there with much Respect. He had always Musick of Flutes, Reeds, Horns, Shells, Kettle-drums, and other Instruments, nothing agreeable to the Ears of the *Spaniards*, nor was their Vocal Musick any better, till they learnt it of the *Spaniards*. There were always at Dinner Dwarfs, crooked and other deformed Persons to provoke Laughter, and they did Eat of what was left at the farther End of the Hall, with the Jesters and Buffoons. What remain'd was given to three thousand *Indians* that were constantly upon Guard in the Courts, and Square, and therefore there were always three thousand Dishes of Meat, and as many Cups of Liquor. The Larder, and Cellar were never shut, by reason of their continual carrying

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in and out. In the Kitchen they dress'd all Sorts of Meat that were sold in the Market, being a prodigious Quantity, besides what was brought by Hunters, Tenants, and Tributaries. The Dishes and all Utensils were of good Earthen Ware, and serv'd the King but once. He had Abundance of Vessels of Gold and Silver, yet made no Use of them, because they should not serve twice, which was look'd upon as mean, but all or part of them were carry'd to the Feasts, and Sacrifices of their Gods. Sometimes, tho' seldom, he did eat human Flesh, and it was to be of that which had been sacrific'd, and extraordinary well dress'd. When the Cloth was taken away, the Women, who had stood all the Dinner Time, came to give him Water for his Hands, and then all went away except those that were in waiting.

When the Company was gone, some one of the six Lords stay'd to talk with the King, and if the Season were fit for it, he took a Nap, leaning against the Wall, on the same Stool on which he had din'd. After that he gave Audience, with much Affability and Gravity, calling in the Secretaries for that Purpose, by whose Mouths he answer'd, and order'd what was to be done. Those who had any Business came in, leaving their Shoes at the Palace Gate, or else carry'd them at their Girdle, under their Mantle. At that Time the great Lords, unless they were of the Blood Royal, wore coarse Mantles over their rich ones, alledging, that it was disrespectful to appear so fine before their Sovereign. All that were to speak to him perform'd the same Manner of Obedience, for they bow'd three or four Times before they came up to him, did not look in his Face, spoke with their Heads hanging down, and so low, that none but the Secretaries could hear them. He listned with much Attention, and if any one hapned to have so much Awe upon him that he could not well

express

express what he had to say, he would bid him compose himself, and tell a Secretary his Business. He answer'd all Men with a pleasant Countenance, very leisurely, and in few Words. Those who had been heard went away without turning their Backs to him. When the Audience was over, many Lords, and other Courtiers came in, and he delighted to hear them sing the great Actions of his Forefathers to the Musick of certain round Instruments that had a very great Sound. He was pleas'd to hear Jesters talk, because they diverted the Care of Business, and said, they were wont under Jest to tell such truths as wise Men durst not utter, and therefore he rewarded them very well. Sometimes he took Pleasure to see Men that play'd Tricks with their Feet, as Juglers do with their Hands in *Spain*, for they lying along on their Backs, will toss a Pole three Yards long with their Feet, so many several ways, casting and catching it so quick, that it can scarce be seen. Others setting the same Pole upright on the Ground, leap up and set both their Feet on the Top of it, and then a second taking hold of the lower part of the Pole lifts it up with the other upon it, and moves about playing a thousand mimic Tricks. There were some such active Vaulters, that the Pole being laid on the Shoulders of two Men, they play'd such wonderful Pranks on it, that it seem'd impracticable without the Help of the Devil, and yet there was nothing of it but bare Custom and Practice. He delighted in a Sort of Posture-Masters, for three Men would stand upright one upon anothers Shoulders, and the uppermost perform'd Wonders, as if he had stood upon the Ground, the undermost at the same Time walking and dancing, and the middlemost performing other Motions. Sometimes he look'd at the Game of *Potoli*, which is something like our Tables, and is play'd at with Beans, and Lupins, that have

Dots made on them like Dice, and the Game is call'd *Potoli*, because that is the Name of those Dice. They throw them with both Hands upon a fine Mat, which they call *Petate*, having Lines drawn on it like *St Andrew's* Cross, and others across them, observing the Cast that fell above, laying down, or taking away little Stones of several Colours. This Game was in such Esteem among them, that many lost not only their Estates at it, but their Liberty also, for they play'd themselves away, when they had nothing else left.

The King took much Delight in seeing the Sport at Ball, which the *Spaniards* have since prohibited, because of the Mischief that often hapned at it; and was by them call'd *Tlachtli*, being like our Tennis. The Ball was made of the Gum of a Tree that grows in hot Countries, which having Holes made in it distils great white Drops, that soon harden, and being work'd and moulded together turn as black as Pitch. The Balls made thereof tho' hard and heavy to the Hand, did bound and fly as well as our Footballs, there being no need to blow them, nor did they use Chaces but vy'd to drive the adverse Party, that is to hit the Wall the others were to make good, or to strike it over. They struck it with any Part of their Body, as it hapned, or they could most conveniently; and sometimes he lost that touch'd it with any other Part but his Buttock, or Hip, which was look'd upon among them as the greatest Dexterity; and to this Effect, that the Ball might rebound the better, they fastned a Piece of stiff Leather on their Buttocks. They might strike it every time it rebounded, which it would do several times one after another, in so much that it look'd as if it had been alive. They play'd in Parties, so many on a Side, for a Load of Mantles, or what the Gamesters could afford, at so many Scores. They also play'd for Gold, and Featherwork, and sometimes play'd themselves

selves away, as has been said before. The Place where they play'd was a ground Room, long, narrow and high, but wider above than below, and higher on the Sides than at the Ends, and they kept it very well plaister'd and smooth, both the Walls and Floor. On the Side Walls they fix'd certain Stones like those of a Mill, with a Hole quite through the Middle, just as big as the Ball, and he that could strike it through there won the Game, and in Token of its being an extraordinary Success, which rarely hapned, he had thereby a Right to the Cloaks of all the Lookers on, by antient Custom, and Law amongst Gamesters; and it was very pleasant to see, that as soon as ever the Ball was in the Hole, the Standers-by took to their Heels, running away with all their Might to save their Cloaks, laughing and rejoycing, others scouring after them to secure their Cloaks for the Winner; who was oblig'd to offer some Sacrifice to the Idol of the Tennis-court, and the Stone through whose Hole the Ball had pass'd. The Spectators seeing the Ball so drove through the Hole, which they look'd upon as miraculous, tho' it was only accidental, were wont to affirm, that the Man who did it was certainly a Thief, or an Adulterer, or would dye very soon, since he was so fortunate, and this Success was talk'd of for a long time, till the like hapning again it was forgot. Every Tennis-court was a Temple, having two Idols, the one of Gaming, and the other of the Ball. On a lucky Day, at Midnight, they perform'd certain Ceremonies, and Enchantments on the two lower Walls, and on the Midst of the Floor, singing certain Songs, or Ballads; after which a Priest of the great Temple went with some of their Religious Men to bless it; he utter'd some Words, threw the Ball about the Tennis-court four Times, and then it was consecrated, and might be play'd in, but not before. This was done with much Gravity

ty and Attention, for they said the Quiet and Satisfaction of their Hearts depended on it. The Owner of the Tennis-court, who was always a Lord, never play'd without making some Offering to and performing certain Ceremonies to the Idol of Gaming, which shows how superstitious they were, since they had such Regard to their Idols, even in their Diversions. *Moteczuma* carry'd the *Spaniards* to this Sport, and was well pleas'd to see them play at it, as also at Cards and Dice.

There is no Nation in the Universe but what delights in some Sort of Musick, and Dancing; and tho' the People of *New-Spain* are more flegmatick and melancholly than any other Nation whatsoever, nevertheless they have much Variety of Instrumental Musick, not very agreeable to our Ears, as I have before observ'd, but at present, among other Things they have learnt of our People, they play very well upon the Flute, the Waits, the Sackbut, the Trumper, and other Instruments of our Sort, to the Organ Notes, singular Care having been taken to put them from their barbarous Customs. *Moteczuma* being so great a Prince, and all his Subjects honouring him somewhat more than what was fit for a Man, they endeavour'd to please him as much as was possible, and knowing that he delighted most in Musick, as is usual among great Men, they came to his Palace to entertain him, in a great Court there was before the Lodgings, and he was so taken with it, that he often sent for those Musicians. The *Indian* way of dancing differ'd very much from that of all other Nations, and was thus, After Dinner they began a Dance that is very pleasant and delightful, and by them call'd *Netotiliztle*. Before Dinner they laid down a large Mat, and plac'd on it two Kettle-drums, one of them small, call'd *Téponaztle*, which is made of one Piece of Wood, very well wrought, hollow, and without

out any Leather, or Parchment on the outside, having a Notch or Cranny on the Top. They beat it with small Sticks, as we do our Kettle-drums, but the Ends of them are not of Wood, but of Wooll, or some other puffy Matter. The other Kettle-drum, is large, as high as a Man's Waste, round, hollow, carv'd and painted on the outside, the Top of it cover'd with a large Piece of Deer's Skin, dress'd, and well stretch'd, which being strain'd raises, and when looser lowers the Tone, and it is beaten with the Hands, but is troublesome. These two Instruments being run'd to the Voices of the Singers, have a great Sound, very disagreeable to our Ears. They were wont to the Musick of those Instruments to sing Ballads, containing the Victories and Feats of their former Kings; and when they were once in, they sang merry, pleasant, and comical Songs, all in Verse, with their proper Cadencies, tho' not so agreeable as ours. When it was dinner Time, eight or ten Men whistled very loud, beating the Kettle-drums hard, as it were to warn those that were to dance after Dinner; then the Dancers came, who to entertain their great Sovereign were all to be Men of Quality, clad as richly as they could, with costly Mantles, white, red, green, yellow, and some of several Colours. They held in their Hands Nose-gays of Roses, or Fans made of Feathers, or of Gold and Feathers. Many of them by Way of Gallantry, or to look fierce, had their Heads thrust into Heads of Tygers, Lions, Alligators, or other wild Creatures; and on their right Arm, or Shoulders they wore some Badge of Gold, Silver, or Feathers. There assembled at this Dance, not only one thousand Men, as *Gomara* writes, but above eight thousand, for about that Number met at the proclaiming of King *Philip II.* marching in Order according to the Number of Men, four, six, eight, or more in a Rank. The prime Men kept
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nearest to the Kettle-drums, according to their several Degrees. They danc'd in a round sometimes holding Hands, and sometimes loosing them, one after another, moving their Hands or Feet at one and the same Time. Two of the most active, and best Dancers, lead the rest, who all do and say the same with them, keeping Time. The two foremost sung, and all the rest answer'd. The last among them take care to keep equal with the foremost, and this Dance usually holds four or five Hours. When they sing their Historical Ballads they do it slowly and gravely; but when they come to other merry Songs they do it faster, and in a more chearful Manner, dancing more sprightly. This dance lasting so long, some step out to drink or rest, without being mis'd, and fall in again still keeping Time. When they think fit sometimes they allow of Buffoons and Comical Fellows to dance out of the Ring, breaking Jest, imitating other Nations in their Habit and Language, acting Drunkards, Madmen, or old Women, to provoke the Spectators to Laughter. This Dance is better worth seeing, than that of the *Moors* called la *Zambra*, at *Granada*; and if it is done by Women is still more sightly and agreeable, but they seldom dance it, and that in private, for Modesty. It is reported, that the Women *Motexuma* kept, which were the most beautiful, and the noblest in his Dominions, to please him, were wont to dance after this Manner, either in his Gardens, or in the Hall, none but he, and some particular Favourites being admitted to see them.

Motexuma was so great in all respects, that every thing appertaining to his Service, or Diversion was Majestick, and suitable to his Dignity. He had many Houses, but because it would be tedious to speak of them all, I shall confine myself to that where he constantly resided, which in that Country Language

was

was call'd *Tepac*, signifying a Palace, or King's House. It had twenty Gates, all of them to the great Square, or Market Place, and the principal Streets; and three spacious Courts, and in one of them a very fine large Fountain, the Water whereof was convey'd under Ground to other Parts of the House. There were many Halls one hundred Feet in Length, and Rooms of twenty-five or thirty, and one hundred Baths. The Timber Work was small, without Nails, but very firm and strong, which the *Spaniards* much admir'd. The Walls were of Marble, Jasper, Porfiry, a black sort of Stone, with red Veins like Blood, white Stone, and another Sort that is transparent. The Roofs were of Wood well wrought and carv'd, as Cedar, Palm-Tree, Cypress, Pine, and other Sorts, with the Figures of some Creatures cut thereon, as if they had been furnish'd with such Tools as our Carvers are. The Rooms were painted, and matted, and many of them with rich Hangings of Cotton, of Coney-wooll, or of Feather Work. The Beds were not answerable to the Grandeur of the House, and Furniture, being poor and wretched, consisting of Blankets upon Mats, or on Hay, or only Mats, the finest laid on the coarsest, for at that Time the *Indians* knew little of Delicacy, or Politeness. Since then the better Sort have us'd wooden Bedsteads, with a Quilt to lye on, and a Blanket, which they reckon very Dainty. Few Men lay in this Palace; but there were one thousand Women in it, and some say three thousand, which is reckoned most likely, including Ladies, Servants, and Slaves. *Moteczuma* took to himself the Ladies, that were Daughters of great Men, being many in Number, and well kept, especially those he liked, and the rest he marry'd to his Servants, and other Persons of Quality. It is reported; that he sometimes had one hundred and fifty of them with Child at the same Time, who by the Instigation of

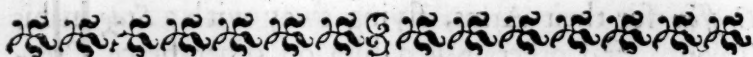
the Devil took Things to miscarry, that they might be in a Condition to please *Moteczuma*, or because they knew their Children were not to inherit. There were abundance of old Women to watch over those young ones, who therefore never stirr'd from them, or permitted Men so much as to look at them; for *Moteczuma* and his Ancestors took care to preserve Modesty in their Palace, and severely punish'd any Disrespect, or Lewdness, that was committed there, which was very rare. Those Ladies had many Women to wait on them, were richly dress'd after their Manner, and wash'd very often, because *Moteczuma* lov'd Cleanliness.

THE Arms over the Gates of the Palace, born in *Moteczuma's* Colours, and those of his Ancestors, were an *Eagle* stooping to a *Tyger*, with the Talons ready to lay hold. Some will have it to be a *Griffon*, and not an *Eagle*, affirming that there are *Griffons* on the Mountains of *Taguacan*, and that they unpeopled the Vale of *Anacatlan*, devouring the Inhabitants. To confirm this Assertion, they say those Mountains are call'd *Cintlachcepeth*, from *Cintlachli*, signifying a *Griffon* like a *Lyon*. This is not very certain, there being nothing to prove it, but their bare Word, for hitherto the *Spaniards* never saw any *Griffon* in that Country, though the *Indians* show'd the Pictures of some among their Antiquities. They were represented to have Down, and no Feathers, and said to be so strong, that they could break the largest Bones of Men, and Deer, their Shape between a *Lyon* and an *Eagle*, with four Legs, Teeth, and Down, more like Wooll than Feather, a Beak, Talons, and Wings to fly. In all these Particulars their Pictures agree with our Descriptions, and Paintings, so that it is neither a Bird nor a Beast. *Pliny* and other natural Philosophers look upon what is said of the *Griffon* as a Fable, though many Tales, and Stories are told of them. Our People
never

never having seen any, some conclude and affirm, that ever since the Beginning of Idolatry among the *Indians* in *New Spain*, the Devil was wont to appear in that Shape, as he did in many others that were no less fierce, and frightful. Other Lords also took the *Griffon* for their Arms, flying away with a *Stag* in his Talons, and others plac'd him on other fierce Creatures, so strong and dreadful they look'd upon him to be.

Moteczuma had a very noble House near his Palace, containing many fine Rooms, with open Galleries about it, supported with costly Pillars of Jasper Stone, all of one Piece. There were other stately Galleries more slightly than those before spoken of, that look'd into a very large Orchard, in which there were ten or more Ponds, some of them of Salt Water, for the Sea Fowl, and others of fresh Water for the River, or Pool Birds; and they were often empty'd, and fill'd again, to keep the Feathers clean. There was such a Multitude of Birds, that the Ponds could not hold them, and so extraordinary was their Variety for Shape and Feathers, that our Men were amaz'd the first Time they saw them, and though they were of several Parts of *Spain*, they own'd they knew not very many of them. *Moteczuma* took such Care to have those Birds maintain'd, for the sake of their Feathers, that every sort was supply'd with the proper Food they liv'd upon abroad, as Herbs, Fish, other Birds, Grain of several Sorts, and some had Flies, and other Vermin to feed on. Above three hundred Persons were appointed to serve them, some of whom cleans'd the Ponds, others fill'd, others fed them, others pick'd them, others look'd to their Eggs, others did set them when broody, others cur'd them when sick, others pull'd their finest Feathers in hot Weather, which was the Motive of being at all that Charge and Trouble.

They made of them rich Mantles, Carpets, Targets, Plumes, Fans, and several other Things, interwoven with Gold and Silver, all of them extraordinary curious, and strange Works.



C H A P. IV.

Of the House of Birds; of the Armoury; of the Gardens; of the King's Court, and Guard, and of the Taxes.



HERE was another House near that above spoken of, very large, and with fine Apartments, which was also call'd the Bird House, not because it contain'd more than the other, but for that they were larger, nobler, and of another Sort, being Birds of Prey, for Game, and they were look'd after by skilful Men, with the greatest Care imaginable. *Motexuma* went oftner to this House than to any of the others, to see the Birds, because they were more noble than the others, and was wont to ask many Questions of their Keepers, being very curious in that Sort of Knowledge, and he was in the right, for there are still more and better Birds than in any other Part of the World. In this House there were many upper Rooms, and in them Men, Women, and Children, all with white Eyes and Hair, as has been seen in *Spain*; and what is most to be admir'd, in a Town call'd *Pocol*, in *New-Galicia*, a Child was born, being the Son of a black Man and Woman, all of him as white as the very Snow, with his woolly Head, and the other Features like

like a Black, and yet was so extreamly white, that he could not see. They said, there were some so white in *Guinea*, that their Children were black like their Grand-fathers. It was very extraordinary to have any such born in *New-Spain*, because all the other Natives are of the Colour of boil'd Quinces. In another Apartment there were Dwarfs, crooked Persons, misshapen, and monstrous, a great Number whereof he kept for his Diversion; and it is reported, that some of them were purposely so deform'd in their Infancy, alledging, that it became a great Monarch to have such Things as were not to be found elsewhere. Every Sort of Dwarfs, or other Monsters, were kept apart, with People to look after them. In the lower Rooms, there were many strong Cages, or Pens, in some whereof there were Lyons, in others Tygers, in others Bears, in others Leopards, and in others Wolves. In short, there were all Sorts of four-footed Beasts, only that *Moteczuma* might be said to be so great, that he had all wild Beasts shut up in his House; and they were fed with Turkeys, Deer, Dogs, and other Creatures. What is still more strange, in other Rooms there were vast great Jars, Pans, and such like Vessels full of Water, or Earth, in which they fed and kept Snakes thicker than a Man's Thigh; very large Vipers; Alligators, Lizards, and Serpents of several Sorts, so fierce and venomous, that the very Sight was frightful to such as were not well us'd to them. They were fed after a strange Manner, for some were naturally so fierce, that tho' bred ever since they had been very small, they could never be tam'd. The Birds of Prey above-mention'd were in another Apartment, and about the Court, in strong Cages, upon Perches, being of all Sorts, as Hobbeyes, Sparrow-Hawks, Kites, Vultures, Goshawks, ten or twelve Sorts of Falcons, several Sorts of Eagles, and among them fifty much bigger

350 *The HISTORY of America.*

bigger than the largest in *Spain*, each of which at one Meal would eat a Cock with a Crop, which are very large Birds. These Eagles were asunder, every one by itself; and all these Birds were every Day allow'd five hundred of the Cocks with the large Crops, having three hundred Men to attend them, besides a prodigious Number of those that follow'd the Game. Among these, were some Eagles so monstrous large, and having such prodigious Beaks and Talons, that it was frightful to behold them. Long after that Time, there was one at the *Tlatelulco*, or Market of *Mexico*, said to have been left from the Time we are writing of, so monstrous big, that not only the *Spaniards*, but the *Indians* also went to see it, as a prodigious Creature; for it would devour a Sheep at a Meal. There were many other Birds in that Apartment, which the *Spaniards* knew nothing of, but the *Indians* said they were all very fit for Game, and they appear'd to be so by their Shape, Beak, and Talons. They gave the Snakes the Blood of Persons sacrific'd, which they suck'd and lick'd, and some say, they had Part of the Flesh, which was also eaten by the Land and Water Alligators, and that was the Reason of their growing so vastly big. The *Spaniards* did not see it done, but found the Floor so thick with congealed Blood, that thrusting in a Stick it quak'd, and that Place stunk so horribly, that it was not to be endur'd. It was strange to see how the Men swarm'd about this House, looking to the Snakes, and other Creatures in it. The *Spaniards* were very well pleas'd to see such Variety of Birds, so many fierce wild Beasts, the Fury of the hideous Serpents, tho' they did not like to hear their Hissing, the horrid Roaring of the Lyons, the dismal Howling of the Wolves, the disagreeable Cries of the Leopards and Tygers, and the dreadful Noise of the other Creatures, which they made either through Hunger, or because they

they were not at Liberty to practise their savage Temper. When first the *Spaniards* heard that frightful Variety of Noises in the Night, they were frighted, till it grew familiar to them, and they affirm'd it was so hideous, that the House seem'd to be a Resemblance of Hell, and the Habitation of Devils, and it was no better, for in a great Room, or Hall, one hundred and fifty Foot long, and fifty in Breadth, there was, as the *Indians* asserted, a Chapel cover'd with thick Plates of Gold and Silver, and abundance of Pearls, Agates, Cornelians, Emeralds, Rubies, Topaces, and other precious Stones set in them, where *Moteczuma* was wont to pray many Nights, and the Devil appear'd, and spoke to him, giving Answers and Advice suitable to his Petition and Request. The first Conquerors said they did not see this Chapel, because *Moteczuma* always went to the Temple to pray, and perhaps, as the *Indians* declar'd, he conceal'd it from the *Spaniards*, and would not show them all that Wealth, lest they should covet it; and they add, that when *Mexico* was taken, the Natives destroy'd that Place, and threw much Treasure into the Lake. There was also a peculiar House for the Grain, and to lay up the Feathers, and Cloth that was brought in as Tribute, and the same was well worth seeing. The Arms over the Gate was a Rabbit. In this House liv'd the Stewards, Treasurers, Controllers, Receivers, and all that had any Employments about the King's Revenue. None of these Houses belonging to the King were without Chapels, or Oratories to the Devil, whom they worshipp'd for the Sake of what was there, and accordingly they were all large, and had many People belonging to them, which shows how superstitious they were, and how many Ways the Devil endeavour'd to be honour'd and worshipp'd.

Moteczuma

352 *The History of America.*

Motezuma valu'd himself so much upon surpassing all other Monarchs he had ever heard of, that he spar'd for nothing that was magnificent, to outdo what they could attain to, and since he had by Force of Arms, and the Multitude of his People subdu'd many Kingdoms and Provinces, he had appointed not only one, but several Houses to serve him as Armouries. The Device over the Gate was a Bow, and two Quivers, those being the Weapons most in Use among them. There was a very great Quantity of Arms in those Houses, as Bows, Arrows, Slings, Lances, Spears, Darts, Clubs, Swords of their Sort, Bucklers, and Targets rather gay than strong. Head-pieces, Greaves, and Bracelets, not of Iron, but of Wood gilt, or cover'd with Leather, and not so many of them as of other Arms. The Wood they made those Arms of was very solid, hardned at the Fire, and at the End fix'd Flints, or the Bones of the Fish *Labica*, which is venomous, and therefore the Wounds it makes are the worse to heal, or else other Bones, which remaining in the Wound, render it almost incurable. The wooden Swords are edg'd with sharp Flints, well fix'd to them, by Means of a Sort of glutinous Substance of a Root they call *Cacotle*, and with *Touxale*, a Sort of hard Sand like that in the Diamond Veins, which they mix and mould together with the Blood of Swallows, and other Birds, and it clings and holds for ever, so that the heaviest Strokes do not separate them. They did cut every Thing that was soft, but if they met with what was hard they recoil'd, the Edge being very sharp and of Flint, of which they also made Piercers; to bore any Wood, or Stone, tho' it were a Diamond; with the Help of a certain Water they put into the Hole, like boring of Pearls. The Swords would cut a Spear, or a Horse's Head off. Some say they made Dents in Iron; it is true they left a Mark, with the Violence

Violence of the Stroke, but then the Edge broke, as being of Stone. No Man durst go arm'd in the City, but only when they went to War, or in Hunting, or upon the King's Guard; and he on Festivals, and some particular Days, caus'd the young Gentry to be exercis'd, against there should be Occasion, and for their Encouragement, appointed Rewards for those that perform'd best. He was present himself, and sometimes shot with a Bow, and fenc'd with a Sword, being very expert at both, and did it with a good Grace, tho' but seldom, for the more Grandeur.

THIS King, besides the Houses already mention'd, had several others for Pleasure, with spacious Gardens, and Gravel Walks. The Gardens only produc'd physical, and fragrant Herbs, Flowers, sweet scented Trees of many Sorts. He order'd his Physicians to make Experiments of those Herbs, and to cure the Gentlemen belonging to his Court with those they knew best. The Gardens were very delightful to all that came in to them, by reason of the great Variety of Flowers, and their Fragrancy and sweet Scent; especially in the Morning and Evening. It was wonderful to see with what Art they represented several Things in Leaves and Flowers, as Seats, Chapels, and other Things that were extraordinary Ornaments. *Moteczuma* would not allow of any eatable Plants or Fruit in those Gardens, alledging that it was not proper for Kings to keep Farms, or have Things that were for Profit in those Places which were design'd for their Pleasure; that Orchards were for Slaves, and Traders; and yet he had Orchards of Fruit Trees, but they were farther off, and he seldom went to them. He had also without the City of *Mexico* Houses in Woods, and Parks of a great Extent, enclos'd with Water, that the Wild Beasts might not break out, and the Game might be safe. Within those Woods there were Springs, Rivers, and Fish-ponds,

Warrens, fine Paddocks, and Walks, Stags, Bucks, Hares, Foxes, and other such like Creatures, in Hunting whereof the *Mexican* Nobility often exercis'd themselves. When there was to be a Royal Hunting, they made a Ring to drive the Game to the Place where *Moteczuma* was, but unless he was there that Ring was never to be made. At other Times, when the King would go a Hunting in the open Country, with all his great Men, it was a curious Sight to behold, as is now practis'd by the Viceroy's, eight or ten thousand *Indians* and sometimes more, holding one another by the Hands, enclose a Compass of five or six Leagues, whistling and shouting to rouse the Game from their lurking Places, so driving them into the Plains, where the Archers, and other arm'd Men were in the midst, attacking the wild Beasts, and almost taking the Stags with their Hands. About the King stood a good Number of Archers, who stir'd not from their Place, as in the Nature of a Wall, that no wild Beast might break in where he was, and so he saw the Sport in Safety, there being no Horses to run away upon. These were the Diversions of the great *Moteczuma*, wherein few, or no mighty Princes have equal'd him.

As *Moteczuma* show'd his Grandeur in all those Particulars that have been spoken of, so he observ'd much more in his Guards, and the Attendance about his Person. Six Hundred Lords, and Gentlemen of Note daily mounted his Guard, with each of them three, or four Servants at least, and some of them thirty, or forty, according to every ones Ability, and Revenue. They all brought their own Arms, and between Masters and Servants amounted to above three thousands, but many say they were five thousand. They did all eat at Court of the King's Meat, as has been observ'd before. The Servants did not go up, nor did they depart till Night, after they had sup'd; the Masters were above with
their

their Weapons, in the great Hall, never going in where *Moteczuma* was. Some walk'd about, tho' that was little practis'd among them; others, being much the greater Number, sat on their little Stools, by four and four, or six and six, talking to one another, and very low, for it was look'd upon as a Disrespect to speak loud in the Palace. In short, the Guard was so numerous, that tho' the Courts, Squares and Rooms were large, they fill'd all. Some of those that were present have said, that *Moteczuma* had doubled his Guards on Account of the *Spaniards*, and for more Majesty, tho' most do affirm, that was his ordinary Guard, because the Lords that were Subject to *Moteczuma*, being thirty who had each of them one hundred thousand Vassals, and three thousand Lords of Towns, besides many other Persons of Quality and Distinction, resided at *Mexico* some Part of the Year, by way of Acknowledgment of their Sovereign, and tho' so many and so powerful, they were kept in such Awe that none of them durst return home to their own Countries without Leave of their Sovereign, and when they went they left a Son, or a Brother as Hostage that they would not revolt; for which Reason they all had Houses in the City of *Mexico*.

His Subjects were so submissive, and those he conquer'd under such Restraint, that no Man tho' ever so great was exempt from paying Tribute. The Nobility perform'd personal Service, spending the greatest Part of the Year at Court at their own Cost, to do him Honour; and if there hapned to be a War, they were oblig'd to serve at their own Expence, which was still more chargeable than being at Court, being proud of carrying more Men, and signaling themselves beyond what they were bound to in Duty. The Peasants were an infinite Multitude, Tillage being the main profitable Employment there, and those were to serve

with their Persons and Goods, which was the Difference between the Nobles and the Commonalty, that were lyable to Taxes. There were two Sorts of those Commons, the one being Farmers, who farm'd Lands of others, paying Rent for them, and most of what remain'd went to the King. Another Sort till'd and manag'd their own Lands, and these paid one Bushel in three of all their Crops, and one in three of all whatsoever they bred. The Product of their Lands was *Indian* Wheat, Kidney-Beans, and other Grain. The Creatures they bred were their Sort of Dogs, Hens, Fowl for their fine Feathers, and Rabbits. There were also Handicrafts that wrought in Gold, Silver, and Stones, and among them some very curious Workmen. The Tools they had were all of Stone, a Thing much admir'd by the *Spaniards*. Others dealt in Salt, Honey, Cloth, Feathers, Cotton, Cacao, *Camatli* and Beans, and in all Sorts of Fruit, and Garden Stuff, which were the chief Support of the Farmers, who pay'd their Rents yearly, or monthly, and that being very much, they were call'd Slaves, because they paid twice over, and whensoever they hapned to eat any Eggs, they thought the King shou'd them much Favour, for they were under such Oppression, that what they were to eat was appointed, and the rest was for the King. For this reason they were very poorly clad, and all they had was one Pot to boil Herbs, one or two Stones to grind their Corn, and one Mat to lye on. Nor were these Farmers free with paying these Duties, but to serve in Person, whensoever their Sovereign requir'd it, either in War, or Hunting. In short, so absolute was the Dominion of the Kings of *Mexico* over these People, that they spoke not a Word, tho' their Sons or Daughters were taken away upon any Account, and therefore some said, that every Peasant who had three Children gave one of them

them to be sacrific'd, the which besides it's being so horrid a Cruelty, would have obstructed the Country's being so populous, and therefore is false, as was afterwards known; for the great Men did not eat human Flesh, unless it had been sacrific'd, and that was of Captives taken in War, and it was a Wonder for them to sacrifice any Man they knew to be well born. They were bloody Butchers, and every Year kill'd many Men, and Women, and some Children, tho' not so many as has been reported, and those were the Children of Slaves, and Persons condemn'd either to perpetual Punishment, or Servitude. Those who could not do it in *Canoes*, brought all their Rents and Taxes on their Backs to *Mexico*, at least all that was requisite for the Maintenance of *Moteczuma's* Household, the Remainder was expended on Soldiers, or barter'd for Gold, Silver, Stones, Jewels, and such like things as Monarchs are wont to value and lay up in their Wardrobes and Treasures. Such was the Oppression *Moteczuma's* Subjects liv'd under, and he said it was absolutely necessary for keeping them in Subjection, quiet and peaceable, by reason of their perverse Inclinations. Now they are subject to the Crown of *Spain*, the poor, and meanest Sort of them enjoy as much Liberty, and are as well treated, as the greatest were then; for the Taxes they pay are so inconsiderable, and they get so much by the Improvements with the *Spaniards*, that they wear good Cotton Garments, and feed plentifully, and if they were not naturally so mean spirited, so sloathful, and such Drunkards, they might be very rich, and the Country thrive, because they are very numerous, and if they would work the Soil is fit for it.



C H A P. V.

The Manner of Collecting the King's Revenue; the Grandeur of Mexico; its Original and Situation; the Markets in it, and what was sold in them.



THE Manner of Collecting the King's Revenues was thus. In the City of *Mexico* there were Barns, Granaries, and a particular House to lay up the Corn, and a Chief Steward, with others under him to receive and deliver it out regularly, keeping their Accounts in painted Books, with wonderful Exactness. Every Town had a Magistrate, like a Mayor, or Bailiff, who carry'd a Wand in one Hand, and a Fan in the other, to shew he was the King's Officer. Those Men were very odious to all the People that paid Taxes, by reason of their Insolence, and Rigidness in demanding them, giving ill Language, and sometimes striking those that were to pay. They were wont to be revengeful where they bore a Grudge, under Colour of collecting the Revenues; and gave Account of what they receiv'd, and what People they had upon their Roles, within their District; being all oblig'd to resort to the Chief Stewards at *Mexico*. If they cheated, or could not make good their Accounts, they dy'd for it, their Kindred suffer'd for being related to Traitors, and therefore they imprison'd the Tributaries
till

till they paid ; if they were impoverish'd by Sicknefs, they forbore them till recover'd, and able to pay, but if Slothfulnefs was the Occafion, then they fuffer'd feverely. In fhort, if they did not pay at certain Terms fet them, they were taken for Slaves, and either fold to make good the Debt, or facrific'd. The King had fome Provinces that paid fomething by way of Acknowledgment, as to their fovereign Lord ; but in thefe the Honour was more than the Profit. Thus *Motexuma* had vaft Revenues, which maintain'd his Houfhould, and defray'd the Charge of his Wars at an exceffive Expence, and yet there was much over to add to his Treafures. Befides he was at no Expence in Building as many Houfes as he would, tho' never fo magnificent ; becaufe for a long Time before feveral Towns about *Mexico* had been appointed to pay no Taxes, but only to build, repair, and keep up the King's Houfes at their own Expence, giving their own Labour, paying Artificers, and bringing all the Materials. The fame Towns, and it was no fmall Imposition, were oblig'd to furnifh the Wood that was burnt in all the Fires in the Palace, which were very numerous, and they are reported to have requir'd five hundred Loads of *Taimemes*, which amount to five hundred hundred Weight, and in Winter, tho' it were not very fevere, much more. For the King's own Chimneys and Fire-Pans they brought the Barks of Oaks, and other Trees, becaufe that was reckon'd better Fuel, and to make fome Difference, that his Fire might not be like the reft ; for in this Particular they were great Flatterers, or as others fay, to make more Work for thofe that were to furnifh the Wood. *Motexuma* had an hundred great Cities, Capitals of as many Provinces, which all paid him Tribute, Taxes, or Acknowledgments. He kept Garrifons in many of them, and had Treafurers to take Charge of his Revenues. His Dominions

minions extended from the North to the South Sea, and above two hundred Leagues up the Country; tho' within that Compass there were some Provinces, and large Towns, as *Tlascala*, *Mechoacan*, *Panuco*, and *Te-poantepec*, that were his Enemies, and consequently paid him nothing, but he made a great Advantage by Way of Trade with them, when he thought fit, because he abounded in all that was proper for that Commerce. There were other Lords and Kings near *Mexico*, as those of *Tezcucuo*, and *Tacuba*, who contributed nothing but their Homage and Obedience. They were of his own Lineage and Family, and the Kings of *Mexico* marry'd their Daughters to none but them.

THE great and most renown'd City of *Mexico Tenochtitlan* was, when the *Spaniards* came to it, in the same Place where it still continues, seated in the Water, so that there was no coming at it but along Causeways, or in Boats. It contain'd sixty thousand Houses, which is more than there is now, tho' the Towns that are as it were Suburbs to it are very large, lying about the chief Part of the City, and inhabited by *Spaniards*, as shall be declar'd hereafter. The two Cities are call'd, the one *Santiago Tlatelulco*, and the other *Mexico*. The King's Houses were many, and very great, as has been said, representing his Grandeur. The Lords and Courtiers had also stately Houses, with Gardens, Baths, and other Conveniencies for their Pleasure. Those of the other Inhabitants were small, low, and mean, without Doors, or Windows, the King not allowing them to be bigger, that they might be the more distinguishable from the Nobility; at this Time whosoever is best able makes the greatest Show. As small as the Houses were, they commonly contain'd two, four, or six Families; so that there was an infinite Multitude of People, for having no Household-Goods, or Furniture, any Place contain'd many of them. When they walk'd

walk'd out into the Country, or went to their Sacrifices on Festivals, the Throng of People was so great, that it was hard to conceive where they all liv'd. This City was very like *Venice*, as to its Situation, and twice as big as *Milan*, but much surpass'd *Venice* in the Strength of its Structures, Height, and Appearance; the main Body of it being all in the Water. There were three Sorts of broad and spacious Streets; one Sort all Water, with Bridges, another all Earth, and a third of Earth and Water, there being a Space to walk along on Land, and the rest for Canoes to pass; so that most of the Streets had Walks on the Sides, and Water in the Middle. The watry Streets were clean of themselves, because they threw no Dirt into them, and those of Earth were often swept. Almost all the Houses had two Doors, the one to the Causeway, and the other to the Water; and tho' all the City stood in the Water, the Inhabitants drank none of it, because it was thick, and therefore Water was brought along a Causeway, from a League Distance, and a Spring call'd *Chipultepec*, which rises on a little Hill, at the Foot whereof are two solid Statues, cut out of the Rock, with their Targets and Spears, representing *Moteczuma*, and his Father, as many reported. The *Mexicans* brought the Water through two large Pipes, made of Clay well moulded together, as hard as Stone, but it never ran in more than one of them at the same Time, because when one of them was foul, they turn'd it into the other, so that the Water ran as clear as Chrystal. All the City drank of this Spring, and it supply'd all the Ponds, and Basons, whereof there were great Numbers in the Noblemen's Houses. Many *Indians* carry'd Water in their Canoes, which they sold to others, that being their Profession, and they paid a Duty to the King for it.

THE City was divided into only two Parts, one of them call'd *Tlateculco*, and the other *Mexico*, where *Moteczuma* liv'd, signifying the flowing Place, and being largest and the Residence of the King, the whole City took the Name, tho' its proper and antient Denomination was *Tenuchtitlan*, signifying the Fruit call'd *Tuna* on a Rock, from *Nuchtli*, the Tree, if it may be so call'd, or Thistle, for as much as it is prickly, tho' of a different Colour, that bears the said Fruit, which in the Language of *Cuba* is call'd *Tuna*, and among the *Mexican Indians* *Nuchtli*, and the Tree *Nopali*, being almost all Leaves, their Colour green, and Thorns or Prickles grey. One Leaf grows out of another, and being planted they thrive and grow so as to become Trees, and the Leaf does not only produce another at the End, but others sprout from it on the Sides. In the Country of the *Chichimecas*, which is dry and barren, it serves them for Meat and Drink, for they eat the *Tunas*, and drink the Juice of the Leaves. The Fruit is in the Nature of Figs, though not of the Colour, for the Skin is thin, and within they are full of small Seeds. The *Tunas* are longish, with Copple Crowns, like Medlars, some green, and some red, others purple, and others yellow. The white are better than any of the rest, have an agreeable Scent and a very pleasant Taste, being very cooling for Summer.

SOME say this great City took its Name from the first Founder thereof, *Tennuch*, the second Son of *Tztemixcoatl*, whose Sons and Descendants peopled the Country of *Anauac*, which is now, and ever will be call'd *New-Spain*. Others also say it was call'd *Tenuchtitlan* from the *Cochinilla*, which grows on another Kind of *Tuna* Trees. *Nuchtli* is the Scarlet Colour so deep, that the *Spaniards* call it Crimson, much valu'd throughout all the World. Be that as it will,

this

The HISTORY of America. 363

this is certain, that the Place whereon this City was first founded, is call'd *Tenuchtitlan*, and a Native or Inhabitant thereof *Tenuth*, for *Mexico* was not properly the City, as has been said, but the one Half of it, being divided only into two Parts, tho' the *Indians* formerly did, and to this Day do name it *Mexico Tenuchtitlan*, and so it is written in the King's Orders. *Mexico* signifies a flowing Place, or Source, from the many Springs of good Water that are about it on the Continent, all of them so excellent, that they surpass that of *Chapultepec*. Many say this City was call'd *Mexico* from the first Founders, call'd *Mexitl*, and to this Day the Inhabitants of that Part are call'd *Mexica*. The Founders of *Mexitl* took the Name of their principal God, or Idol, call'd *Mexitli*, being the same as *Vizitliputli*. Before that Part of the City which is call'd *Mexico* was founded, that of *Tlatelulco* had been establish'd, and so nam'd on Account of its being seated on a high and dry Part of the Lake, signifying a little Island, deriv'd from *Tlatelli* an Island.

Mexico Tenuchtitlan is every Way encompass'd with fresh Water, tho' thick, and being in the Lake, has only three Avenues along the Causeways. One of them comes from the West about half a League in Length, another from the North a League long. On the East there is no Causeway, but only Canoes to come at it. The other Causeway is on the South, two Leagues in Length, along which *Cortes* and his Men enter'd. It is to be observ'd, that as the Lake of *Mexico* stands, it seems to be but one, yet they are two, and of a very different Nature, for the Water of one of them is brackish, bitter, nought, and neither breeds nor will bear any Sort of Fish; and the Water of the other is fresh, and has Fishes, tho' small. The salt ebbs and flows more or less according as the Wind blows on it. The fresh is higher, and so runs into the salt, and not

364 The HISTORY of *America*.

the reverse, as some have thought, through six or seven large Gaps that are in the Causeway, that divides them, over which there are very large wooden Bridges. The salt Lake in some Places is five Leagues over, and eight or ten in Length, the Compass of it being above fifteen. The fresh Lake is about the same Compass. Within it, and on the Banks are above fifty Towns, several of them containing five thousand Houses each, some ten thousand, and *Texcoco* was as big as *Mexico*. The Water which gathers in the low Grounds where the Lake is form'd, comes from the Sides of the Mountains, which are in Sight of the City round about it, and that Water falling into Land that has much Salt-petre becomes salt, and not for any other Reason, as some have imagin'd. Abundance of Salt is made on the Bank of the Lake, and there is a great Trade for it. There are on it above one hundred thousand Canoes, or small Boats made of one Piece of Timber, like a Weaver's Shuttle; the *Indians* call them *Acales*, which signifies Water-Houses. Most of the *Spaniards* going thither from *Cuba* and *Santo Domingo*, call'd them Canoes, according to the Language of those Islands, and gave Names to many other Things there, according to the same Language. There were near fifty thousand of these Boats at *Mexico*, only to furnish the City, and fetch and carry People. The Trenches that ran through the City, as well as the Water near it, are always full of those Canoes, which is very agreeable to behold, the Trade being extraordinary great.

THE Markets in *Mexico* are as large, and as much frequented as any in the World. All Eatables are sold in every little Square, or vacant Place, so that neither the *Spaniards*, nor the *Indians* need go far for what they want. Besides these small ones, there are three very great, which on the appointed Days of the Week are resorted to by a vast Multitude of *Indians*, to buy and
sell

The HISTORY of *America*. 365

sell all that can be desir'd. The *Indians* call the Market *Tiangnystli*, and the *Spaniards* name it *Tianguez*, not rejecting the ancient Name, as they have done in many other Things. One *Tianguez* is in the Town of *Tlatelulco* being a Square enclos'd on three Sides with Shops, and Porticos, in one of those Fronts is the Governour's House, and the Prison, and the fourth is taken up by the Monastery of *Santiago* of the *Franciscans*, of which more will be said hereafter. In the midst of this Square or Market, which is one of the largest in the World, stands the Gallows, and a very beautiful Fountain made by the *Spaniards*. The other is in the Part of the City call'd *Mexico*, now known by the Name of St. *John's Tianguez*, being also a very large Square, so that each of them can contain one hundred thousand Persons with their Goods. There us'd to be People and Goods in both these *Tianguez* every Day in the Week, till afterwards in the Time of the Viceroy *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, and the Visitor *Tello de Sandoval*, it was order'd, that the People who came to these two *Tianguez* every Week, should meet on *Wednesdays*, and *Thursdays* in another very spacious Square, nearer to the *Spanish* Town, which is call'd the *Tianguez of St. Hipolito*, because near that Saint's Church, who is the Patron of the City, by reason it was taken on his Day. This *Tianguez* is resorted to from all the Towns in and about the Lake, so that there is such a Multitude of People, that it is hard to pass either a foot, or a Horseback. In short, there are so many Dealers, that we dare not mention any Number, because it will seem fabulous to those that hear and have not seen it, nothing being to compare to this Resort of People, some coming to buy, and others only to see what is sold. The Women are most numerous, having their Goods on the Ground in Stalls, or Tents, and every one of them keeps her Seat, without having

366 *The HISTORY of America.*

it taken up by another. Most People coming to this Market to buy and sell by Water, there are so many Canoes in the Passages or Trenches, that they cover all the Water. Every Trade, and sort of Commodity has a proper Place assign'd it, which no other may take up, and it is very good Government. The most bulky, and weighty Things, as Stone, Timber, Lime, Bricks, and the like, are left in the Canoes, or set down upon the Brink of the Water, for those who have Occasion to go thither to buy. Fine and Coarse Mats, which they call Petates are brought to Market, the fine are colour'd like rich Carpets fit for any Nobleman's Chamber. There are Coals, Wood, Ashes, Earthen-Ware fine and coarse, and very good Glass, of which they make all Sorts of Utensils from great Jars to Salts. There are Deer's-Skins dress'd, or undress'd, with, or without the Hair, dy'd of several Colours, for Bucklers, Targets, Coats, Shoes, or lining for wooden Armour; as also Skins of other Creatures, and of Birds dress'd with the Feathers on, and stuff'd with Herbs, large and small, very curious to behold for their Variety of Colours and Rarity. The richest Commodity is the Cotton Cloth, finer and coarser, white, black, and of all Colours, and Sizes; some made fit for Beds richly wrought, other Pieces for Cloaks, or Mantles, others for Hangings, Breeches, Shirts, Sheets, Caps, Table-cloths, Napkins, &c. The rich Quilts for Beds are wove of several Colours, and some of them, since the coming of the *Spaniards*, mix'd with Gold, and Silk. Some are wrought with Coney-Wool, and small Feathers, much to be admir'd. There are likewise Quilts of Feathers, or rather of Down, for Winter, some white, some black, and of several Colours, very soft, warm, and look well on the Bed of the greatest Person. They sell Coney-Wool spun, Skeins of Cotton of all Colours;

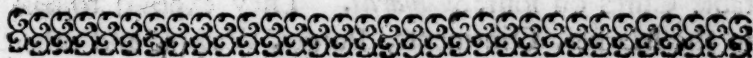
lours; but the most remarkable Thing was the Fowl, tho' now the Quantity is not so great, because it is not minded as it used to be, for there is an infinite Number of them tame, wild, ravenous, of Land and Water, and of so many Colours as cannot be express'd, some to eat, some for their gay Feathers, and others for Sport.

THE richest Things brought to Market were of Gold and Silver, some of them cast, and others wrought with Stones to such Perfection that many of them have surpriz'd the ablest Goldsmiths in *Spain*, for they could never conceive how they had been made, there being no Sign of a Hammer, or an Engraver, or any other Instrument us'd by them, the *Indians* having none such. There were Figures, or Representations of their Kings and of their Idols so perfect, and exact, that they exceeded the *Spanish* Paintings. At this Time in *Mechoacan*, they make Images of Saints, Fringes for Antependiums, Vestments, Mitres, the Words of Consecration, and such like Things so curiously, and of such Value, that they are worth more than if they were of Gold. Such nice Things have been sent to the Pope, that no Painting can outdo them. Of those Feathers they will make a Beast, a Tree, a Bird, or any other Thing so natural, that it seems to exceed Art. It sometimes happens that the Artists who employ themselves in that Work, are so absorpt in what they are doing, laying down and taking off little Feathers leisurely, that they do not think of eating all the Day, observing the Sun, the Shade, the Reflection, to see whether it fits best with the Grain or against it, or athwart, or on the wrong Side. In short, they never give over till they have brought their Work to Perfection, and they succeed by reason of their unwearyed Patience, which the *Spanish* Nation wants as being more cholerick. The next Trade in Niceness and Reputation

368 *The HISTORY of America.*

putation is the Goldsmiths. The Masters at this Trade brought into the Market eight corner'd Plates, which had every other eighth Part of Gold, and every other of Silver, not solder'd, but cast, and join'd together in the Casting, which is hard to be conceiv'd. They produc'd Silver Kettles finely wrought, with the Bale cast at the same Time, and yet it was loose ; and so they would cast a Fish with one Scale of Silver and another of Gold, tho' it had never so many ; they would also cast a Parrot with his Tongue loose, and his Head and Wings moving ; or a Monkey with all its Legs pliable, holding a Spindle in one Paw as if it were spinning, and an Apple in the other as if eating. They enamel, set, and cut Emeralds, *Turkey* and other Stones, and bore Pearls, but not so well as is done in *Europe*. They work Chrystal most curiously, and make great or small Glasses, in which they place Figures carv'd in Wood, so small, that in the Compass of a Man's Nail they represent our Saviour crucify'd, with *St. John* and our Blessed Lady on the Sides, and *St. Mary Magdalen* at the Foot of the Cross, with other Figures on the other Side of the same Bit of Wood, so that the Glas has two Fronts, which would seem impossible were it not frequently seen. To conclude, such an immense Variety of Things is sold there, that it would be tedious to mention them all,





C H A P. VI.

The Subject of the Markets continu'd; the great Temple at Mexico; the other Temples; the Sacrifices, and the Charnel House.



O proceed upon what was sold in the Market at *Mexico*, there was Gold, Silver, Copper, Lead, Tin, Pearls, precious Stones, several other sorts of Stones that are us'd for Looking-glasses, and very good to make Altar Stones. They also make of Stone, Razors, and Lancets, which are taken out from the Places where they grow, with singular Art, as it were clearing of a Shell from any Thing, and they come out with two Edges exactly equal, as sharp as ours. There is an infinite Variety of all sorts of Shells, great and small, Bones, Pebbles, Sponges, ridiculous Trifles, Toys for Children, Herbs, Roots, Leaves, Seeds, both for Eating and Physick, of more kinds than can be rehears'd, and a Man must be a very able Botanist to know them, though whilst they continu'd in their Idolatry, Men, Women, and Children knew abundance of Herbs, because being then extreamly poor, which they are not now, they look'd out for them to eat, and cure their Distempers, for they spend little upon Physicians, though they have them, and those perform their Cures with Simples, of which

they know wonderful Secrets, and have made very notable Cures on some *Spaniards*. They expos'd to Sale in the Market, Ointments, Purges, Waters, and other Things for the Sick, curing most Distempers with Herbs, and have a particular sort for killing of Lice. The Things they sell to eat are endless, for they scarce spare any Thing that has Life, as Snakes without Head or Tail; little Dogs that do not bark; Moles, Dormice, Mice, Worms, large Pismires toasted, which are very delicious to them. At a certain Time of the Year, they skim off a certain very small Thing that grows on the Water of the Lakes of *Mexico*, and clings together, being neither Herb, nor Earth, but as it were Mud, and they gather much of it, which they lay on Floors, like making of Salt, where it dries and consolidates, and they work it up into Cakes like Bricks, selling them not only in the Market, but in other Places, carrying them above one hundred Leagues up the Country. This they eat as we do Cheese in *Spain*, and it has a saltish Taste, and with a Thing they call *Chilmoli*, is agreeable. They say such Numbers of Fowl resort to this Food, that they often in Winter cover several Parts of the Lakes.

THEY brought a Multitude, both of living and dead Creatures to sell, which they either run down, or took alive in Snares, or kill'd them with their Bows and Arrows, among them were whole Stags, very large, or cut into Quarters, Bucks, Hares, Rabbits, *Tucas* which are smaller, Dogs, and other little Creatures that yelp like them, *Cuzatlis*, and others, they kill'd and breed. There are many Shops of large and small Pots, full of Atoel, or soak'd Bisket, or Bruice, made of *Indian* Wheat, and other Things; it is wonderful what a Quantity of this is sold, not only in the Markets, but at the Corners of Streets, and it is amazing how such an immense Quantity of Provisions is spent,

The HISTORY of *America*. 371

as Fish and Flesh roasted and boil'd, Bread, Pasties, Cakes, Eggs of very many several Birds, Corn, Bisket, Beans, Lupins, and other sorts of Pulse, Fruit as well that which is natural to the Country, as what has been carry'd from *Spain*. The chief Thing that serves for Meat, Drink, and Money, is a sort of Berry, which they call *Cacahuatl*, and the *Spaniards*, *Cacao*, and so in the Ilands of *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*. Nor is it less wonderful to behold the great Quantity and Variety of Colours that is sold, which they make of Rose Leaves, Fruit, Flowers, Roots, Barks of Trees, Stones, Wood, and other Things. There is Bees Honey, and some made of Maguey, and other Trees, but the Maguey affords Wine, Vinegar, Sugar, and Mustard, as has been said. There is Oyl made of *Chianques*, a sort of Seed like Mustard, very beneficial to preserve the Skin against Water, and keeps Paintings fresh a very long Time. It is also eaten, but most generally they use Butter, or Lard. They make Oyl of other Things; and the several sorts of Liquors to drink can scarce be reckoned up. There are in the Market, Stove-makers, Barbers, Cutlers, Armourers, Pedlars that sell Combs, Looking-glasses, and other Things, Porters, and other sorts that some thought had not been among those People. In short, it would be endless to pretend to mention every Thing that is sold there.

ALL that brought any Thing to Market, paid a Duty, by way of Toll to the Sovereign, that he might protect them against Thieves, and there were certain Officers walking about the Market, as a *Spaniard* does now with a Wand. In a House near the Market, were twelve antient Men, who held a Court, to decide Controversies among the Traders. The manner of buying and selling was by bartering, or exchanging one Thing for another, which was us'd

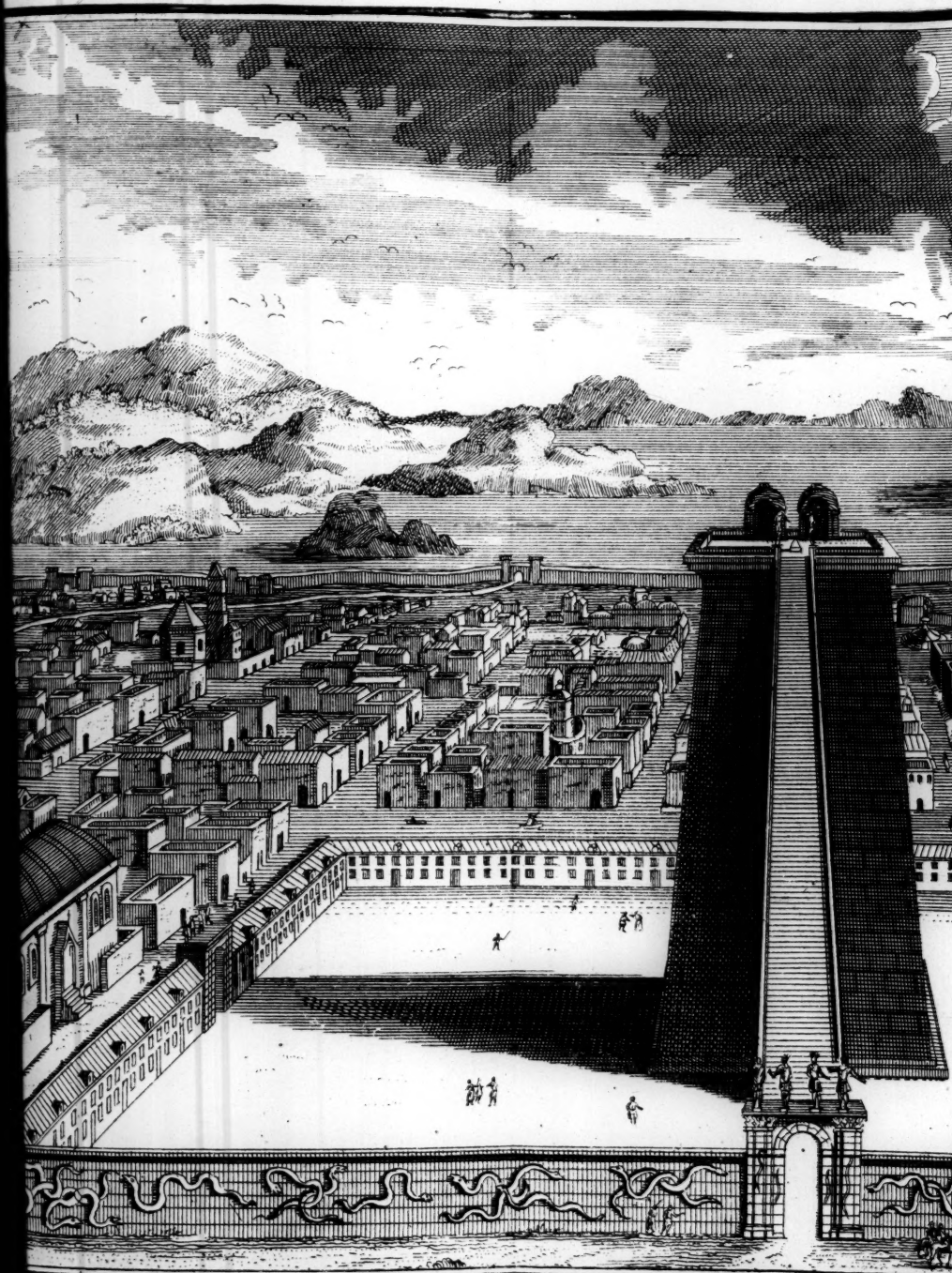
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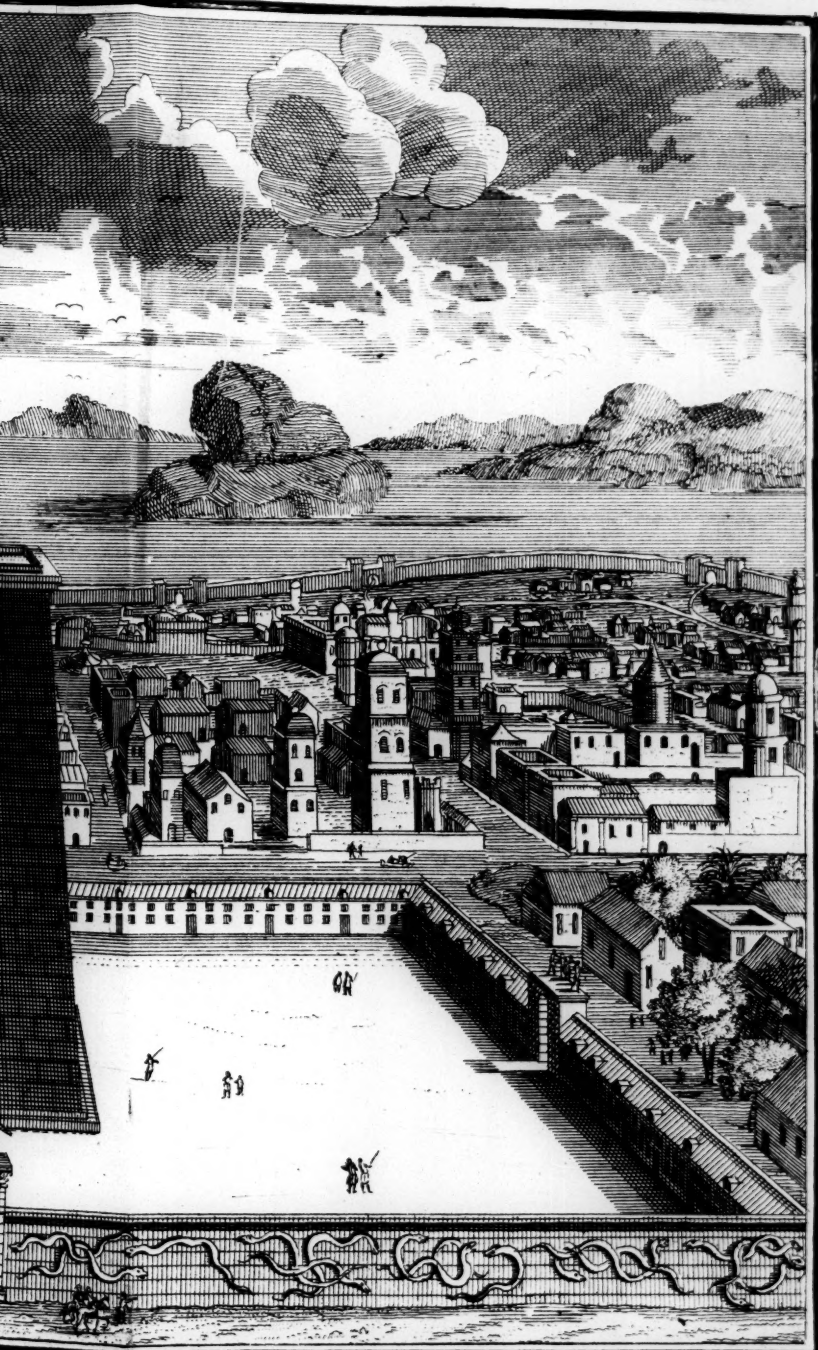
throughout all the Country. There was a set Measure for every Thing, even to Grass, which was as much as could be bound together with a Cord a Fathom long, sold for a *Tomin*. Whosoever defrauded in Measure, was severely punish'd, alledging that he was an Enemy to all Men, and a common Thief; and false Measures were broken, as is practis'd among us. To conclude every Thing was so well regulated, that the Multitude of People occasion'd no Disturbance.

THERE is scarce any Nation in the World but what has some Religion, either true or false, and honours one, or more Gods; and it appears by antient History, that the more brave, polite, and civiliz'd any People was, as the *Greeks*, or the *Romans*, the more intent they were upon the Divine Worship, tho' in a wrong Way, never undertaking any Enterprize without consulting their Oracles, which ought to make us blush, who worship the only true God, and are so negligent in that Particular. The *Indians* of this new World were most barbarous in their Worship, shedding Human Blood without Measure in their Sacrifices, at the Instigation of the Devil, of which something shall be said in this Place, reserving farther Particulars for another, to avoid interrupting the Course of the History. The Temple was call'd *Teucalli*, which signifies, House of God, compos'd of the Words *Teu*, which is God, and *Calli*, a House, a very proper Expression, had it been the true God. The *Spaniards* being Strangers to the Language, call'd the Temples *Zues*, and *Vitziliputzli*, *Villalobos*, being the greatest Temple. There were many Temples in *Mexico*, answerable to the many Parishes, or Wards. They had all Towers, and Stairs to go up to them. At the top there were Chapels and Altars, where the Idols and Images of their Gods stood. The Chapels were the Burial Places for the Lords they belong'd to, for
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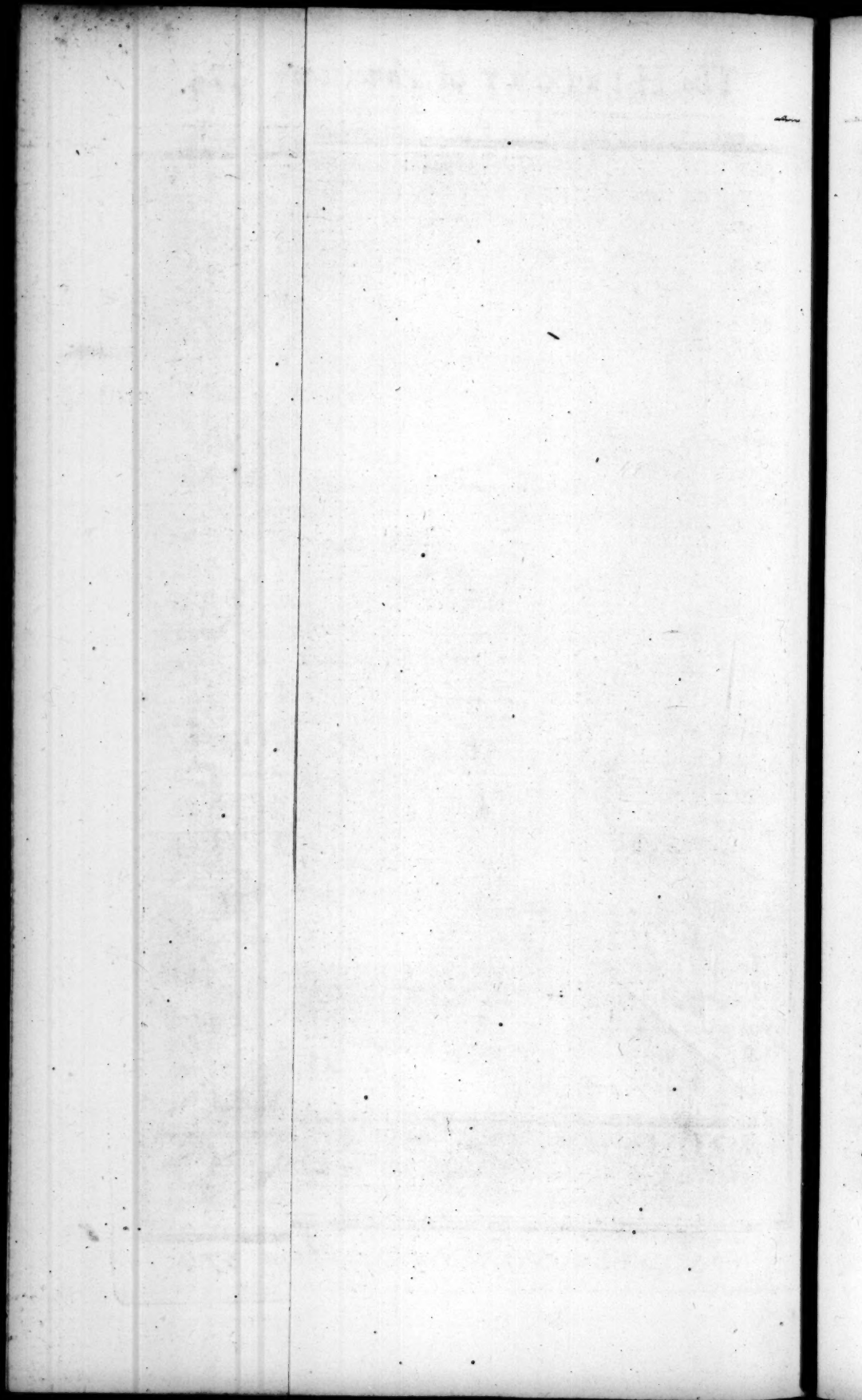


The Great Temple of



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pa: 372



all others were bury'd in the Earth about the Temples, and their Yards. They were almost all built after one and the same Manner, the greatest Difference between them being greater, or smaller, higher or lower, better or worse adorn'd, and most resorted to; so that the Description of the chief Temple will give a true Idea of the rest, being so very different in their make from those of other Nations, that the like of them is not known to have ever been seen. The Bottom of this Temple was square, about a Musket Shot from one Angle to another, the Enclosure was of Stone, above the Height of a tall Man, with four very spacious Gates, answering to the four principal Streets, which were terrass'd, coming from the three Causeways before spoken of, and another Part of the City that has no Causeway, but a broad Street. In the midst of this vast Space, which was extraordinary level, and solid, rising three or four Steps from the Ground, was a sort of Foundation of Earth, Stone and Lime well ramm'd together, square like the Court, extending above thirty Yards from one Corner to another, at its rising above the Ground, where the Bulk began to appear. It had large Tables, after the manner of the Pyramids of *Egypt*, and the higher the Work did rise, the narrower the Body became, and the Tables were less. It did not run up to a Point, but there was a Plain, or Flat at the Top, about twelve or fifteen Yards square. On the West Side it had not Tables, but Steps to go up to the Top, each of them full a Span high. The whole Number of them was one hundred and thirteen, or one hundred and fourteen; though some say above one hundred and thirty, and they were of a fine sort of Stone, curiously wrought; so that they look'd very well either close by, or at a distance. It was worth observing to see the Priests go up and down there, in
their

their Festival Habit, upon some Ceremony, or carrying a Man to be sacrific'd. At the Top of the Temple were two large Altars, at a Distance from one another, and so close to the Edge of the Wall, that there was no more Room than for a Man to pass easily behind. One of these Altars was on the Right Hand, and the other on the Left, each of them five Spans high. They had distinct Stone Walls, with ugly and monstrous Things painted on them, and a Chapel made of Timber, like Mason's Work. Each Chapel had three Stories, one above another, all very high, vaulted, which made the Structure rise high above the Pyramid, concluding in a very great Tower, extraordinary beautiful, and agreeable to behold at a Distance. From thence there was a full Prospect of the whole City, and the Lake, with all its Towns, which was one of the finest Sights in the World. *Moteczuma* to please *Cortes*, and his Followers, conducted them up to this Place, attended by his prime Men, as far as the Altars, where was a pretty spacious Place, in which the Priests had conveniency to rest themselves, and celebrate their Offices. *Cortes* being at the Top, looking every Way to behold the finest Prospect he had ever seen, thought he could never sufficiently view it, and blessing God, said to his Men. "What do you think of it, Gentlemen, how good has God been to us, who after having given us so many Victories in the greatest Dangers, has brought us to this Place, from whence we have a Sight of the seven Cities in the Lake, and so many other great Towns. My Heart really gives me that mighty Kingdoms and Provinces will be conquer'd from this Place; for this is the Metropolis where the Devil has chiefly establish'd his Residence, and when once this City is subdu'd, it will be easy to conquer the rest." When he had spoken these Words,

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he turn'd to *Motezuma*, and said, " It was but reasonable that the Neighbouring Lords should be subservient to one that had so noble a Dominion; and that the only Fault he could find was, that so great a Prince, and such a Multitude of People, should be so deluded, as to worship and follow the Devil, who aim'd at nothing, but the Destruction of their Souls and Bodies." This said, they all went down.

WHEN they perform'd the Sacrifices, which they call'd Divine, there were all sorts of Musick. The Priests vested, and burnt several Perfumes, as the People, the Men on one Side, and the Women on the other look'd on, and pray'd towards the rising Sun. On each of the two foresaid Altars stood a very large Idol, representing different Gods. Besides the Towers over the Chapels or the Pyramid, there were forty or more great or small, and other lesser Temples that were about the great one, which though of the same make, did not front to the East, but otherways, to make a Distinction between them; which being all of different Sizes, and each of them dedicated to a several God, there was one among them round, consecrated to the God of the Air, call'd *Quezalcoatl*, and it was of that Shape, because the Air rolls round the World. The Entrance into this Temple was thro' a Door made like a Serpent's Mouth, painted after a devilish Fashion. The Tusks and Grinders were in Relief, so deform'd and unnatural, that the boldest Man was daunted at it, especially the Christians, who look'd upon it as the true Gate of Hell. It was more dreadful within, because of the Darknes, and the Stench of Blood of the Men that had been sacrific'd. There were other Temples in the City that had the Stairs or Steps to go up to them on three Sides, and others that had some still smaller at each Angle. They all of them had peculiar Houses, with the Necessaries,
particular

particular Priests, and their proper Gods. At each of the four Gates of the chief Temple, there was a large Hall, with good Rooms about it, above and below, which were full of Arms, for they were Publick Houses, because the Temples, besides their being Houses of Prayer, were also Fortresses for their Defence in Time of War, and therefore they serv'd as a Magazines.

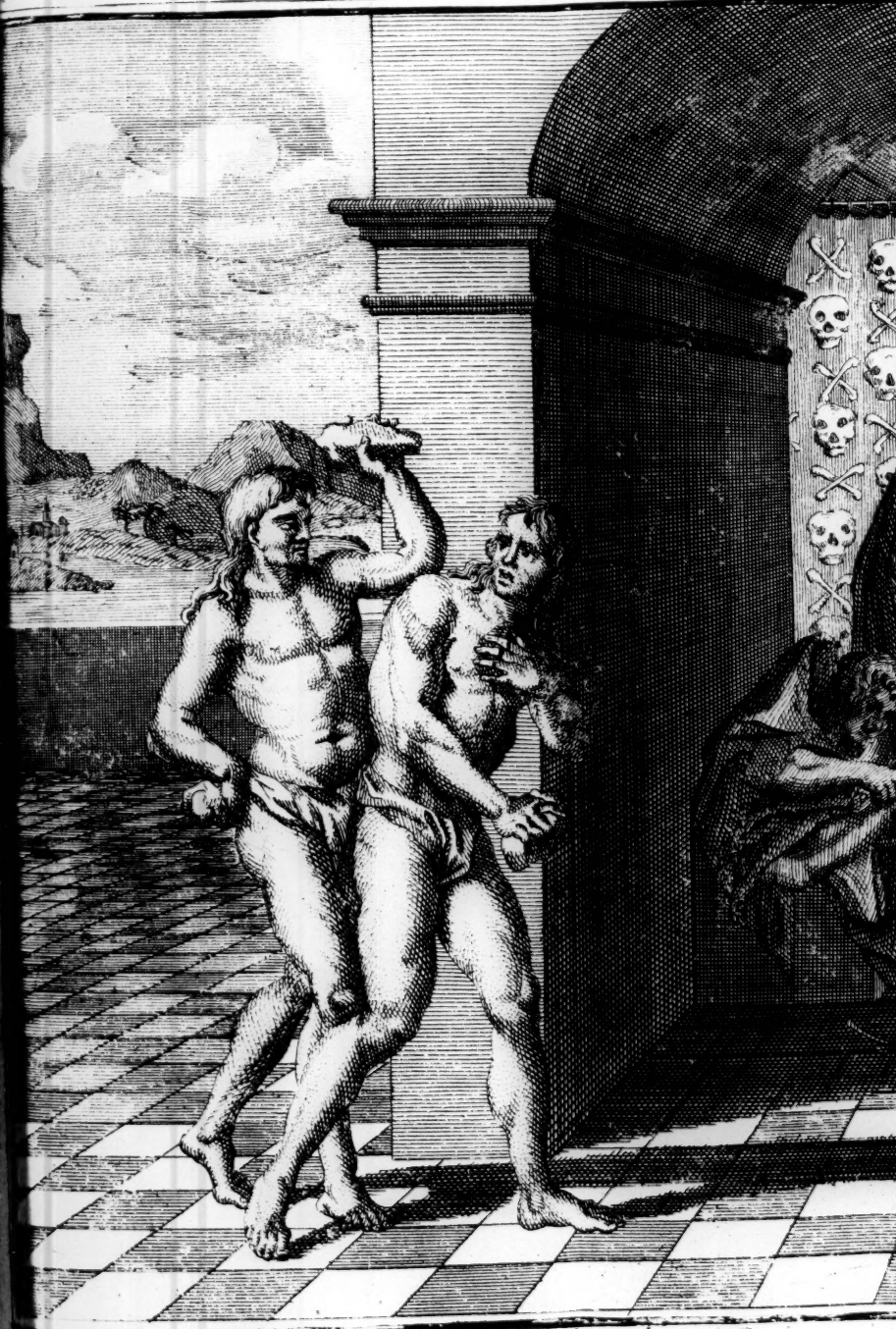
THERE were three other great Halls together, their Walls of Stone, Painted, the Roof of Timber, and Imagery, with many Chapels, or Chambers, that had very small Doors, and were dark within, where was an infinite Number of Idols great and small, made of several Metals, and Materials. They were all dipp'd in Blood, and Black, by reason of their being daub'd and sprinkled with it, when any Man was sacrific'd; the very Walls were crusted with Blood two Fingers thick, and the Floor a Span deep. They stunk abominably, and yet the Priests being us'd to it, went in every Day, as unconcern'd as if they had gone into a very fragrant Room. None besides them were to go in, unless they were Persons of great Note, and to offer a Man to be sacrific'd. Those Ministers waited for People to make that Offering to wash their Hands in the Blood of such as were so offer'd. This they did with as much Satisfaction, and Earnestness, as if they had not kill'd Men like themselves, or those of whom they had not long before receiv'd Favours, so powerful was the Devil to deceive them. They sprinkled those Rooms with the Blood, us'd some in their Kitchens, and gave it the Poultry to eat. There was a Pond of Water brought from *Chapultepec*, where they wash'd themselves clean. All the rest of the Enclosure within the Walls of the Temple that lay open, was divided into Yards to breed Poultry, and Gardens of sweet Herbs, and Trees, Roses and Flowers for the Altars. Five thousand Persons

sons resided there to serve the chief Temple, who all lay within, and were maintain'd by it, being extraordinary rich, for it had several Towns allotted for its Expences and Repairs, all which sow'd much Grain for the Maintenance of those that serv'd the Temple, whom they were oblig'd to furnish with Bread, Fruit, Flesh, Fish, more Wood than was allow'd for the King's Palace, for Religion, tho' false, had always the Preference, and yet those Towns, being dedicated to the Service of the Gods, had more Liberty, and liv'd easier than others. Such was the Temple, and such its Grandeur.

THE *Mexicans* were so blind, and had so little of the Light of Nature, that not reflecting like Men of Judgment, that all Things created were the Effect of some immense and infinite Cause, which is the only Principle, and the true God, they, through the Delusions of the Devil, who ever aspir'd to have the supreme Adoration paid him, and by reason of their horrid Sins, fell into such enormous Stupidity and Ignorance, that within the City of *Mexico* alone, according to the most receiv'd Opinion, they ador'd two thousand Gods, the chiefest of whom were *Vizlipuztli* and *Tezcatlipucatl*, who as the principal, stood on the two Altars at the Top of the great Temple. They were made of Stone, well proportion'd, tho' of deform'd and frightful Faces, as big as large Giants, cover'd all over with Mother of Pearl, set about with many Pearls, and Pieces of Gold, Birds, Serpents, Beasts, Fishes, Roses, and Flowers, made of *Turkey* Stones, Emeralds, Chalcedonies, Amethysts, and other rich Jewels, very curiously put together, like *Mosaic* Work, fastned on with that Sort of Bitumen which they call *Tzacotli*, the Mother of Pearl appearing between, extraordinary resplendent. Each of these Idols had a thick Gold Chain made like a Snake about his

Body, and about the Neck a thick Collar of Gold, reaching down to the Shoulders, and ten Gold Hearts of Men hanging to it. They had also very deformed Vizor Masks, with glittering Eyes like Looking-Glasses, which shin'd both Day and Night, and were the more frightful in the Dark; and on the Pole a dead Man's Face, which was no less hideous. All these Things had their literal and moral Signification, among the Priests, and those that were learned in their Religion. Those Idols, as the People said, were Brothers, tho' differing in their Offices, and Invocation, for *Tezcatlipucal* was the God of Providence, and *Vitzilipuzli* was the God of War, and he was more honour'd and esteem'd than all the rest. There was another Idol larger of Stature than those two, plac'd over the Chapel where they were. This Chapel was the largest, the best, and the richest, of all that were within the Dominions of *Moteczuma*, and the Reason of it was, because all the Wealth of the Country flow'd into *Mexico*, and all paid their Devotion to those Idols. This great Idol was made up of all the Sorts of Seeds or Grain the Country affords, that are eaten or made Use of, pounded, and moulded together with the Blood of innocent Children, Matrons, and Virgins sacrific'd, and their Breasts ripp'd open to offer up their Hearts to the Idol, which tho' so large, was very light, as if it had been made of the Pith of Reeds. As soon as dry'd up, the Priests consecrated it, with extraordinary Pomp and Ceremonies, and a prodigious Expence, for all the City and Country resorted to the Consecration, with much Joy, and incredible Devotion. The most Religious Persons when it was bless'd, went in a very respectful Manner to touch it with their Hands, and struck into that Mass the most valuable Stones they had, Ingots of Gold, and other valuable Ornaments. When this was done, and the Idol plac'd in his Chapel,

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Tizilipuztli, the Prince



Principal Idol of the Mexicans.

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pel, with wonderful Pomp, and Noise of Musick, no lay Person might afterwards go into the Place where it was, much less touch it, nor even any Religious Person, unless he were a Priest, who in their Language was call'd *Tlamacaztli*. This Idol was black, and they renew'd him from Time to Time, breaking the old one into Bits, which were distributed as Relicks among the prime People, and particularly the Soldiery, who wore it about them to defend their Persons. Together with this Idol they bless'd a Vessel of Water, with extraordinary Ceremonies and Expressions, which they kept very religiously, at the Foot of the Altar, against the King was to be crown'd, for he was consecrated with it; as was the General of their Forces, when chosen for any great War, giving him some of it to drink.

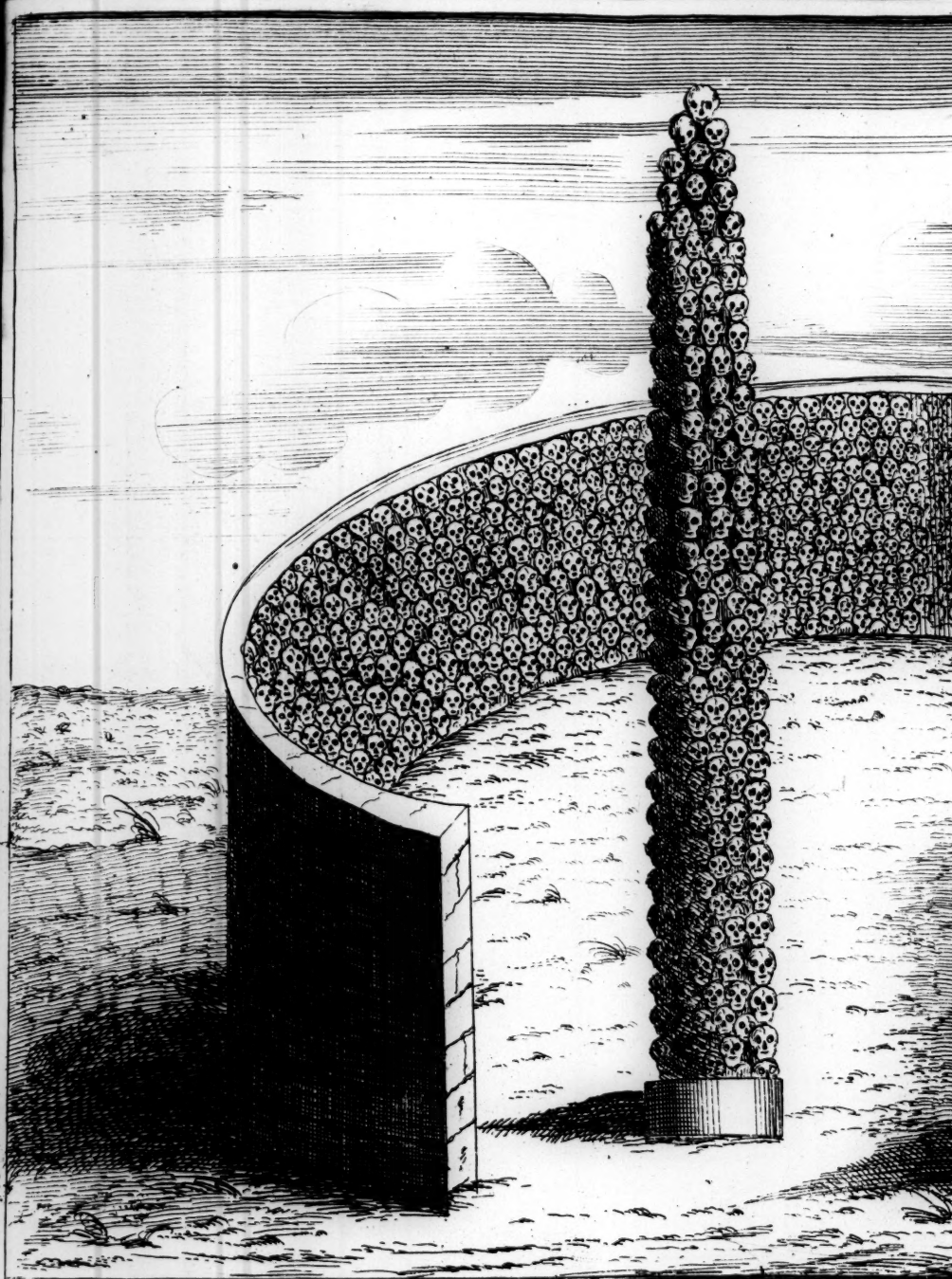
THEY from Time to Time made another Idol after the Manner of the last mention'd, the which being broke into small Bits, was given by Way of Communion to Men and Women to eat, who to prepare for that Festival, bath'd, and wash'd their Faces and Hands, dress'd their Heads, and scarce slept all the Night. They pray'd, and as soon as it was Day, were all in the Temple to receive that Communion, with such singular Silence and Devotion, that tho' there was an infinite Multitude, there seem'd to be nobody. If any of the Idol was left, the Priests were to eat it. *Moteczuma* went to this Ceremony attended by Abundance of Quality, and richly dress'd. After the Solemnity, in Honour of it, he made great Entertainments, with Diversions, and Rejoycings. The other Gods, tho' so numerous, were each of them appointed to some particular End, and as there are so many Distempers, every one of them had its particular Deity; and in like Manner for all other Occasions, especially for the *Indian* Wheat, for when the Reeds were small,

they sacrific'd new-born Babes, and others bigger as it grew up, till it was ear'd and ripe, and then they sacrific'd Men. These Sacrifices were offer'd to the Gods of the Grain, that they might protect it.

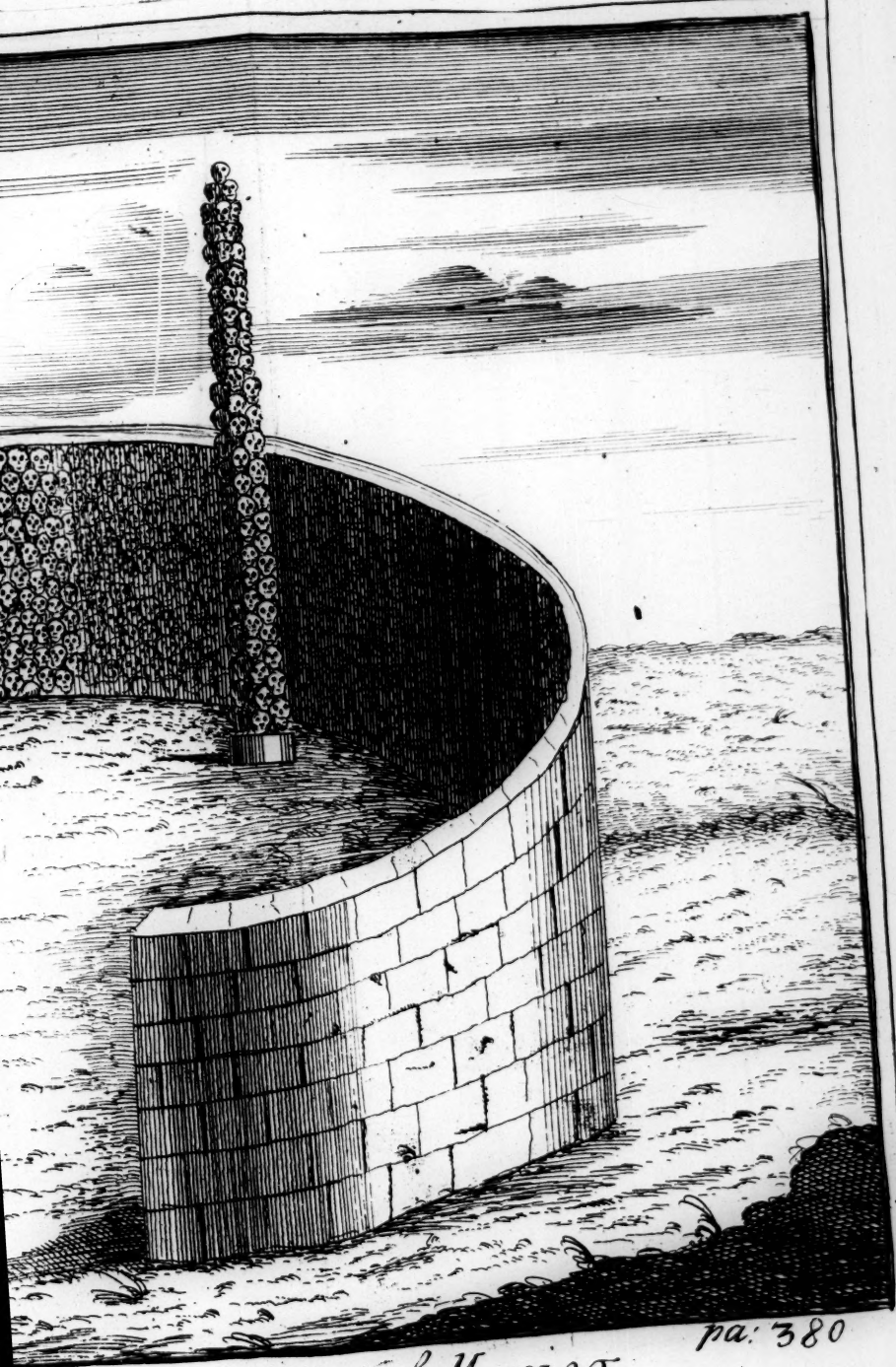
THE *Mexicans* being so very exact in all Religious Observances beyond all others in that new World, either to shew the Multitude of Sacrifices they offer'd to their Gods, or to keep in their Minds the Remembrance of Death, to which all Men are subject, they had a Charnel of the Skulls of Men taken in War, and sacrific'd, which was without the Temple, and opposite to the great Gate, above a Stone's Throw from it, in Shape like a Theatre, longer than it was broad, strong, and built with Lime and Stone, with Steps, on which the Heads were set between the Stones, the Teeth outwards. At the Head and Foot of the Theatre were two Towers, made only of Lime and Skulls, and having no Stone or other Material, at least not to be seen, they were very strange to behold, being dreadful, and at the same Time a good Memorial, Death appearing which Way soever a Man turn'd his Eyes. At the Top of the Theatre, which much adorn'd the Charnel, there were sixty or more long Poles, about four or five Spans asunder, to which were fix'd from the Top to the Bottom, as many Sticks as the Height could contain, in the Form of *St. Andrew's* Crosses, with Heads, or Skulls plac'd between all those Intervals, and made fast at the Temples. The Number was so great, that *Gomara*, who had it from *Andrew de Tapia*, and *Gonzalo de Umbria*, two Persons that took the Pains to count them, tell us, they amounted to above ene hundred and thirty thousand Skulls, besides those that were in the Towers, which they could not count; and the said *Gomara* condemns this Practice, in regard that they were the Heads of Men sacrific'd, as being the Effect of so cruel a Cause, as was the

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The Great Charnel House



pa: 380

House in y City of Mexico

The HISTORY of America. 381

the killing so many innocent Persons; and he is in the right, for had they been the Heads of Men that had dy'd a natural Death, it was commendable to expose them to publick View, to put the living in mind of their End. They were so careful to keep them continually rang'd in their proper Order, that there were Persons appointed to set up others, whensoever any happen'd to drop out, which according to their Superstition they look upon as a Religious Affair.

The End of the Fifth Book.



THE



THE
General HISTORY

Of the vast CONTINENT and ISLANDS of

A M E R I C A, &c.

D E C A D. II. B O O K VI.

C H A P. I.

*Cortes goes to see the Market and the great
Temple of Mexico ; receives Advice of
the Death of John de Escalante ; secures
Motezuma ; and what hapned afterwards.*



O return to our History, Cortes spent some Days in taking an exact View of the Situation and Strength of the City, considering seriously, on the one hand the Danger he had run himself into, and on the other the Difficulties that occur'd in extricating himself, for he now receiv'd dreadful

dreadful Advices, and tho' he endeavour'd to have them disregarded, for the Encouragement of those by whom they were brought, they were for the most Part true. He was told, that all the Nobility had unusual Conferences with *Motezuma*, and that there was a Talk of killing all the *Spaniards*, which the Devil press'd them to do, it being look'd upon as certain, that *Motezuma* several Times ask'd his Advice, and was answer'd, it was then a proper Opportunity to sacrifice those few Men, and honour the Gods with their Blood. *Motezuma* was not altogether averse to this Design, but his natural Inclination to Mercy, and the Dread of the *Spaniards*, check'd him; for besides the Victories obtain'd over the *Tlascallans*, the Execution at *Chulula* had gain'd *Cortes* much Reputation, and struck a great Terror into all the Natives. These Thoughts lying heavy upon *Cortes*, he dealt with that King's Ministers very craftily, always behaving himself very lovingly towards them, and endeavouring that all his Men should do so, and give no Occasion of Disgust. He ask'd Leave to see the City, and the Market, and went very well attended. Next he visited the Temple of their chief God, *Vitziliputzli*, where the King was, and having paid him the due Respect, pray'd that he would show him his Gods, and how they were worshipp'd. This was propos'd to the Priests, and nothing occurring to obstruct it, they show'd him all that was in that great Temple. *Cortes* told him, he wonder'd that so great a Prince was not sensible of the Folly of worshipping those Idols, and that if he would give him Leave to erect a Cross, and to set up the Image of the Mother of God, he did not question but that he would soon be sensible of his Error; and then turning to *Peter de Alvarado*, he bid him fear nothing, for that Fortune always favour'd those who undertook great Enterprizes with much Courage. *Motezuma* answer'd,

swer'd, that had he thought he would have offer'd such an Affront to his Gods, he should not have been permitted to come into the Temple; and the Priests show'd they were disgusted at it. He added, he would then stay in the Temple, and that *Cortes* might go away to his own Quarters. *Cortes* then spoke to the King's Stewards, to give him Leave to dress up a Chapel, where Mass might be decently celebrated, for till then that was perform'd on some Tables, which were remov'd as soon as the Service was over, and his Intention was, that besides having a fix'd Place, where the *Spaniards* ought at all Times to say their Prayers, the *Indians* might see how the Divine Worship and Religious Affairs were manag'd. The Stewards durst not grant it, whereupon *Cortes* sent his Interpreters, *Aguilar*, *Marina*, and *Orteguilla* his Page, who began to learn that Language, to ask that Licence of *Moteczuma*, which he granted, and appointed *Indians* to carry on that Work, and find all Materials, so that two *Spaniards* that were skilful directing them, the Chapel was finish'd by those *Indians* in two Days. The Altar was erected, and all Things provided, the best their Circumstances would afford, and a wooden Cross was rear'd in the Court, before the Door, that the *Indians* might all see what Honour the Christians paid to it. Mass was said, and sometimes sung, F. *John Diaz* officiating, with some others that knew how to do it, which was perform'd every Day till there was no more Wine; *Cortes* being extraordinary careful that his Soldiers should live regularly, and show themselves good Christians, continually inculcating to them of what great Consequence their Example was, they being the first that were to set it to those Idolaters, in order to their embracing the Catholick Faith, which ought to be the principal End they aim'd at; and that they ought to observe strict Discipline, being ready upon all Occasions,

sions, acting honourably, and obeying all Commands, assuring them, if they did so, that no Disaster could befall them, whereas if they behav'd themselves otherwise, he could not deny their being in Danger.

AT this Time two Men came privately from *Tlascal*, who brought Letters from *Villa Rica*, with Advice, that *John de Escalante*, whom he had left there for his Lieutenant, Alcalde, and Chief Alguazil, had been kill'd with six of his Men, in a Battle he had with the *Mexican* Forces, in which many of the *Totonaque* Indians they took with them had also perish'd; and that all the Towns on the Mountains of *Zempoala* were revolted, and would not send in any Provisions; that the *Totonagues* in like Manner began to fall off. The Affair of *John de Escalante* was after this Manner. The *Totonagues* having forborn paying their Tribute to *Moteczuma*, since their Entering into Confederacy with *Cortes*, *Moteczuma's* Commanders, and particularly those on the Borders of *Panuco*, demanded it; and tho' they answer'd that *Cortes* had forbid them paying it, with Assurance that it was the King's Pleasure; the others reply'd, that they had lately receiv'd Orders from *Moteczuma*, and if they did not pay it, they would come and destroy them. They had Recourse to *John de Escalante*, who sent Messengers to desire the *Mexican* Commanders not to insult those People, since they were all Friends. They answer'd, it was not in their Power to forbear. *Escalante* sent again, to entreat them to desist, because it was the Will of *Moteczuma*, declaring, that in case they did not, he would defend them. They nothing regarding this second Message, reply'd, he should find them in the Field, and might do as he thought fit. *Escalante* march'd out with forty *Spaniards*, who had three Cross-Bows, two Muskets, two small Field Pieces, and about two

thousand Confederate *Indians*. He found the *Mexicans*, being double his Number, in the Field; they engag'd, and the *Totonaques* fled at the first Onset, leaving some dead. The *Spaniards* being forsaken by their Allies, stood their Ground, and routed the *Mexicans*, who having never felt them before, could not stand the Edges of the *Spanish* Swords. They pursu'd them as far as the Town that was afterwards call'd *Almeria*, and burnt it. *John de Escalante* was much wounded in this Fight, and his Horse kill'd, and six of the Men were dangerously hurt. *Escalante* dy'd of his Wounds as soon as he came to *Villa Rica*. The *Indians* carry'd off one Soldier alive, whose Name was *Arguello*, a Native of *Leon*, a Man of a great Head, a black curl'd Beard, very lusty and strong, who being sent to *Moteczuma*, for this hapned before *Cortes* enter'd *Mexico*, he dy'd by the Way of his Wounds, and because he stunk they carry'd the Head, which being of a lusty Man, put him into a Consternation. He would not have it offer'd at any of the Temples in *Mexico*, but in some one without; and said, he wonder'd how it came to pass that his Men being so numerous did not vanquish that small Number, and that he was convinc'd those Men were not immortal, tho' they appear'd to be very brave. The Consternation he was put into by the Sight of *Arguello's* Head, some say, proceeded from the Predictions he had, that such Men should conquer his Monarchy, and change the Religion.

Cortes hearing what had hapned, because it was requisite to have an able Man in the Town of *Villa Rica*, sent thither *Alonso de Grado*, a Person of good Abilities, but not much a Soldier, to be Alcalde, and his Lieutenant, and conferr'd on *Gonzalo de Sandoval* the Post of Chief Alguazil, yet so that he might still stay at *Mexico*. He charg'd *Grado* to take care of the Inhabitants,
and

and respect them, and not suffer any Wrong to be done to the confederate *Indians*, or any Thing to be taken from them by Force, and to be very diligent in finishing the Work of the Fort. When *Alonso de Grado* came to *Villa Rica*, he behav'd himself very loftily with the Soldiers, demanding Presents of the neighbouring Towns, and little regarded the finishing of the Fort. It being likewise known, that he discover'd an Inclination for *James Velasquez*, and had propos'd it to some of his Friends to receive him if he should come, *Cortes* order'd *Gonzalo de Sandoval* to send him Prisoner to *Mexico*, and stay himself at *Villa Rica*. *Alonso de Grado* having been some Days confin'd, was restor'd to the Favour of *Cortes*, who after having sent away *Sandoval*, conferr'd with some Noblemen of *Tlascala* and *Chulula*, to discover the Occasion of what had been done by *Conatlopoca*, for that was the Name of the *Mexican* General. They assur'd him that he durst never have presum'd to act against *Escalante*, without positive Orders from the King. *Cortes* hereupon considering the Danger he was in, by conferring other Discoveries he had made, and that if he departed the City he should still be in more Danger of Perishing, besides his losing all the Reputation he had gain'd, with an undaunted Courage resolv'd to put all to the Hazard upon seizing the King's Person, a bold and difficult Enterprize with Relation to the present Posture of Affairs, and the Power of that mighty Prince. Tho' some few with whom he immediately advis'd, laid before him the Difficulty of succeeding in an Affair of that Nature; others were of his Opinion, whereupon he concluded to put it in Execution, believing that they must inevitably perish unless they had that Hostage for their Security. When he had fix'd this Resolution, several *Tlascallans* came to him, with an Account that the *Mexicans* publicly

talk'd of breaking down the Bridges about the City and had already made many warlike Preparations, advising him to consider what was to be done before it was too late.

Cortes told them, he very well knew what was in Agitation, that the Danger was not so great as they imagin'd, and that they should not fear, since God was for them. He walk'd that Night alone in a great Hall, studying upon the Manner of putting his Design in Execution, and was there inform'd by *Alonso Tanez*, a Master Bricklayer, or Mason, that there was a Door which had been lately made up, and plaster'd over. *Cortes* order'd it to be immediately broke open, to see what was meant by it. He went in that Way, with some Soldiers, and found several Rooms stor'd with rich Feather Works, Jewels, Cotton Garments, Idols, and other Things of Value. He caus'd the Door to be shut up, without touching any thing, for it had all belong'd to *Acaxaya*, *Moteczuma's* Father, and immediately sent for all the Commanders, and those whom he us'd to consult in his Affairs, and told them,

“ They knew the Danger they were in, as well by
 “ what had been found out by the Affair of *Conatlapoca*, which they had receiv'd from *Vera Cruz*, as
 “ by the Informations the *Tlascallans* gave; for which
 “ Reason, unless they could propose some better Expedient, he had resolv'd to seize *Moteczuma*, bring
 “ him away to his Quarters, and keep him under a
 “ strong Guard; because whilst *Moteczuma* was in
 “ their Hands, the *Mexicans* would not dare to attempt
 “ what he had heard was design'd by them; and that
 “ in case they should, when once their Sovereign was
 “ dead, there would be so many Divisions among them
 “ about the Election of a new King, that it was likely
 “ some one Party for their own Advantage would
 “ join with them, which would strengthen them
 “ against

“ against the other ; for that there was no Way of departing the City but like Fugitives, that would be every where despis’d and kill’d, before they could come to *Tlascala*; and therefore since they were every Way in Danger, it was best to follow such a bold Resolution as he had pitch’d upon.” He then desir’d them all to speak their Minds freely. Some would have had him come to an Agreement with *Moteczuma*, about departing out of *Mexico*, for since he had made such advantageous Offers to prevent their Coming into the City, he would bid as much to have them gone; they looking upon the Design of Seizing him as a Rashness. Others said, That since it was not certain that if they propos’d to depart the City *Moteczuma* would protect or give them any of his Treasures, it was better to put *Cortes*’s Design in Execution, because as appear’d by the Letter from *Villa Rica*, he had order’d those *Spaniards* to be kill’d, and his Intentions were evil ; besides, that it was scandalous and dangerous to depart the City upon Terms or without them ; and since they were then in, it would be unreasonable upon uncertain Hopes of the Safety of their Lives, to omit doing so great a Piece of Service to God and the King, as it would be to possess themselves of *Mexico*, for if that succeeded, it would be an easy Matter to subdue all the rest of that Empire. The Majority gave into this Opinion, and it was resolv’d that *Cortes* should put his Design in Execution ; and when he had told them how he intended to do it, they all went to Rest.

THE next Day, at the usual Hour of visiting the King, *Cortes* went, attended by thirty of his Commanders and Prime Men, leaving all the rest very still, in a Readiness, divided into several small Detachments, at the most proper Posts. He order’d those that went out with him to go sily away to the Palace, by two and

and two, or three and three, as if they were walking about. *Moteczuma* came out to meet *Cortes*, and conducted him into a Room where his Seat was; the thirty *Spaniards* went in after him, and being well pleas'd with his Discourse, he gave him many Gold Jewels, and a Daughter of his own, besides some of other great Men, his own for him to marry her, and the others to wait on her, or to be distributed among his Gentlemen. He accepted of them for fear of offending him, saying he always favour'd him as became so great a Prince, but that he could not marry that Lady, because the Christian Religion would not allow of it, both on account that she was not baptiz'd, and of his being already marry'd, and that he could have but one Wife. However *Moteczuma* would have him to take her, that he might have Grandsons by so brave a Man.

WHEN the above-mention'd Discourse was over, *Cortes* told *Moteczuma*, " That *Conatpopoca*, his Subject
 " and General on the Frontiers, and Lord of the City,
 " of *Naubhtlan*, having sent for some *Spaniards* to that
 " Place under Colour of Friendship, had murder'd
 " three of them, and would have destroy'd the rest,
 " if God had not deliver'd them; and that the Com-
 " mander of *Vera Cruz* calling him to Account for
 " that Treachery, they came to a Battle, and he had
 " kill'd eight *Spaniards* more. That being oblig'd
 " to answer for those Men, he had taken Care to en-
 " quire who had been in the Fault, and finding that
 " all the People laid it upon him, (tho' he did not be-
 " lieve it, looking upon him to be the King his Mas-
 " ter's good Friend, as he had assur'd him) he thought
 " it absolutely necessary (to the End that those who
 " had been guilty of that Crime, and those who said
 " he had order'd it, might be punish'd, to deter others
 " from being unjust to their Lord) that he should go
 " with

“ with him to his Quarters, where he should be serv’d
 “ as punctually as in his own Palace, or better, for he
 “ would be very well pleas’d with the Service the *Spaniards*
 “ should do him, and delighted with their Conversation;
 “ and that he should be no longer detain’d than till he had sent
 “ for the Offenders, and they two were agreed on what was to be done with them.
 “ He begg’d him not to be concern’d at it, for he knew that when he was once acquainted with his Men he would be loath to go from them.

Moteczuma having listned with much Attention to all that *Cortes* said, seeming to be much astonish’d, said,
 “ He knew nothing of what he had told him had hap-
 “ ned in that City, the Lord whereof was his Subject,
 “ and that perhaps they were the *Tlascallans* that had told him he was concern’d in that Affair, which he did not wonder at, since they were his Enemies, and would be glad of his Ruin; but he might be assur’d, that no such Thing had been done by his Command.” This said, he call’d two Noblemen that were by, and order’d them to go away to *Nauhtlan*, and command *Conatlopoca*, and all that had a Hand in the Death of the *Spaniards* to appear before him; giving them a little Stone he took off from his Arm to show them, and that in case they refus’d to obey, they should make War on them, with the Assistance of the neighbouring Lords, till they brought them away Prisoners. He then turn’d to *Cortes*, and told him, he saw he had sent for the Offenders, and therefore desir’d he would let him stay there, since he was not likely to forsake his House, or to fly into the Mountains, and he would be satisfy’d that *Cortes* and his Companions should stay there. This Point was long bandy’d, and the Controversy lasted till three in the Afternoon, when *Cortes* perswaded him to go. He order’d certain Rooms to be fitted up, and a Bier brought
 to

to carry him, which was done by the Lords that were present. Some Tokens of Uneasiness appear'd by the Way, but *Moteczuma* order'd all Persons to be quiet.

MANY Noblemen resorted to *Moteczuma's* Apartment, being very melancholy, expressing their Sorrow for that Innovation, and offer'd to do any Service that should be enjoyn'd them. *Cortes* being sensible of the Boldness of his Enterprize, and the Danger he was in, to provide for the worst, order'd two Brigantines to be built, that would carry two hundred Men, to come into and go out of the City as there should be occasion. They were soon finish'd, and he kept them under a strong Guard, near his Quarters, to the no small Amazement of the *Indians*. *Moteczuma* fearing lest any Harm that might be done to the *Spaniards* by his People, would redound upon himself, put on a good Face to conceal the Grief that perplex'd him, telling the Men of Quality that serv'd and visited him, there was no occasion to be so much concern'd, since he was alive and well, liv'd in that Apartment at his Ease, and no Injury or Affront was offer'd him; that he had chosen to go thither to convince the *Spaniards* that what had been said of him in relation to *Conatlopoca* was not true, that he design'd to punish him, to the end that no other should be guilty of the like; that he would stay there till *Cortes* was satisfy'd, and that since he might depart from thence whensoever he should think fit, they ought to set their Hearts at rest, and as they had always lov'd him, they should show it at that Time. As soon as brought into the Apartment, *Cortes* set a Guard over him, and gave the Command of it to *John Velasquez de Leon*, and if particular care had not been taken, he would have been convey'd away, for Walls where broke through, and other Methods

rhods try'd; and one Day he attempted to throw himself off from the flat Roof of a House, that was ten Fathoms high, for his People that were underneath to catch him, had not a *Spaniard* that was upon the Guard, and near his Person, held him. *Cortes* visited him every Day, and for his Diversion order'd the Soldiers to exercise their Weapons, and to play, with which he was very much pleas'd, and generously rewarded them. His own Servants waited on him, as they were wont to do in his Palace, and so did the *Spaniards*, who by *Cortes's* Command honour'd and respected him as a King. There he decided Law-Suits, dispatch'd all Business, and attended the Government of his Kingdoms, speaking either in private or publick to any Persons whatsoever; and yet the *Indians* were so restless and uneasy, that they never ceas'd by Day or Night to attempt rescuing of him. For this Reason, *Cortes* order'd *Rodrigo Alvarez Chico*, a brave and watchful Man, to guard the back-side of the House with sixty Men, twenty mounting at a Time, and *Andrew de Manjarraz* to do the same before the Palace, with the like Number. *Moteczuma* was there serv'd like a great Prince, the Diet that was brought him by four and four Men holding up the Dishes, with much Respect, made a long Train; and when he had done, all the Meat was divided among the Gentlemen that serv'd, and the *Spaniards* that guarded him. His Bed consisted of many costly Cotton Blankets, some of them very fine, some quilted and cover'd with others of great Value, made of Feathers and Coney-Wooll, which are very warm, soft, and extraordinary lightly, being of various natural Colours. The Bed was laid on Mats, and a wooden Bedstead, all suited either for the Heat or Cold.

Cortes took special Care that his *Spaniards* should speak to and treat with *Moteczuma* in most respectful Manner, as became so great a Prince, setting them an Example himself, for every Time he came in to visit him, he made several Bows down to the Ground, which seem'd in some Measure to satisfy him. He often offer'd him his Liberty, saying, he might return to his own Palace if he thought fit, for he did not keep him as a Prisoner. He answer'd, he thank'd him, and was well there, because he wanted nothing that was proper for his Service, and was pleas'd to be there, that he might have the more Opportunity of conversing with the *Spaniards*. whom he lov'd better every Day, as liking their Behaviour; and because it might happen, that if he return'd Home, his People being more at Liberty to talk with him, would importune him to do something in Prejudice of the *Spaniards*. *Moteczuma* sometimes went out from that Apartment, attended by a Number of Soldiers, to visit those Temples that were most honour'd by the prime Nobility; and at other Times to take his Pleasure at his Country Houses, a League or two from the City, but always return'd to lye at the *Spanish* Quarters. He likewise went in great Canoes, that carry'd sixty Men; before his was always a very small one, with two to row, and an *Indian* richly clad, standing, carry'd the three Gold Rods before spoken of, upright in his Hand, in the Nature of a royal Penon. The two Brigantines, being the first that *Martin Lopez* built, went along to guard him, and were afterwards burnt by the *Indians*, when *Cortes* march'd out against *Narbaez*. The *Spaniards* then stood very diligently upon their Guard, for that was the Time when most Harm might be done them. The Diversion *Moteczuma* took on the Lake was shooting Birds with a Trunk, at which he was very dextrous. Sometimes he went out to the Moun-

tains

tains to hunt wild Beasts with Nets, Bows and Arrows, and Hawking, which he did not use much, tho' for Grandeur he kept many Eagles, and other stately Birds of Prey. When he went a Hunting, he was carry'd on Men's Shoulders, with his *Spanish* Guards, and three thousand *Tlascallans*, and he could not but be much concern'd to see them, because they were his antient Enemies. The great Men, his Vassals, attended him, and he entertain'd them all very graciously, bestow'd many Gifts and Favours on them all. He took Delight in giving, and was so generous towards those he lik'd, that *Cortes* one Day told him the *Spaniards* were unlucky, and being never idle had rumag'd the House, and taken some Gold they found in certain Chambers, he therefore desir'd to know what he would have done with it, meaning that which he had found, when he caus'd the Door before spoken of to be broke open. *Motexuma* answer'd, That belongs to the City Gods, but let them leave the Feathers and other Things that are not of Gold and Silver, and do you take the rest for yourself, and then if you will have more I will give it you. That Treasure *Alonso de Ojeda* in his Memorials, says, was inestimable, and he was an Eye Witness. The *Spaniards* call'd those Rooms where the said Wealth was, the Jewel House. The Chests the Cotton Cloth or Garments lay in, were so large, that they reach'd up to the Top of the Rooms, and so wide, that when empty, two *Spaniards* lay in each of them. Above one thousand Loads of Cloth were carry'd out into the Court, which *Cortes* would have return'd to *Motexuma*, but he refus'd, saying, he never took that again which he had once given. *Cortes* divided that Cloth among the Soldiers, as he thought fit.

FOR as much as it is not proper to omit any Particular that is remarkable, among other Things admir'd in the good Government of *Motezuma*, was his Care to have the City of *Mexico* kept clean, to which Purpose, a considerable Number of Men were appointed to be continually Sweeping and Watering the Streets, placing great Pans of Fire in them at certain Distances, and whilst some slept others watch'd, so that there were always enough to look to the City, and observe what was done in it, by Day and by Night. *Cortes*, who took Notice of every Thing, observing that the *Naborias*, which are *Indian* Servants, did put *Motezuma* to a great Expence, order'd them to be dismiss'd, and that every *Spaniard* should have only one *Indian* Woman, to dress his Meat, and the rest to be so dispos'd of, that they might not be maintain'd at the Charge of *Motezuma*, and that it should be without the City, that they might not be troublesome to *Motezuma*, and his People. *Cortes* could not do this so privately but that the King heard of it, who sent for him, and in a grave and loving Manner told him, he admir'd he should so much undervalue him, as to cause the *Naborias* to be turn'd out of the City, to save him that Expence, that he should consider what they would say who were acquainted with his Grandeur. As soon as he had spoke those Words, before *Cortes* could answer him, he order'd some Prime Men that were present to put the *Naborias* belonging to the *Spaniards* into a very good Apartment, and give them a double Allowance every Day. *Cortes* kiss'd his Hands for that Favour, begging Pardon, if he had err'd in what he did, declaring he had not design'd to displease him. *Motezuma* took such Care of all Things for the Use of the *Spaniards*, that he appointed them certain Houses for easing themselves, which for that Reason were call'd *del Maxixato*, that is, of the Easing of Nature, certain

rain *Indians* being always employ'd to keep them clean and sweet.



CHAP. II.

Motezuma's Generosity, and Severity; Cortes discourses him about Religion; his Answer; Couatlpopoca, burnt, with some others; Motezuma reprov'd.



THE House the *Spaniards* were quarter'd in being extraordinary large, *Alonso de Ojeda* walking about several Rooms, found in one of them many small Sacks, about half a Yard long, full, and ty'd up very close. He took one of them, which he carry'd out, and opening it before several of his Comrades, saw it was full of Lice, which he affirms is certainly true, and so they quickly ty'd it up again, much admiring at the Meaning of it. They told *Cortes*, who ask'd *Marina* and *Aguilar* about it. They answer'd, that all Persons were so submissive to the King, that those who through extream Poverty or Sickness could not pay Taxes to the King, were oblig'd to louse themselves, and to keep the Lice to pay them as an Acknowledgment, and that the poor Sort being very numerous, there were several Bags of Lice, the most remarkable Thing that ever was heard of, and which sufficiently shews the wonderful Subjection of those People. Some say, those were not Lice, but small

398 *The HISTORY of America.*

small Worms, however *Alonso de Ojeda* in his Memorial, asserts it, as an Eye Witness, and so does *Alonso de Mata*. The King was so affable and loving to the *Spaniards*, that no Day ever pass'd in which he bestow'd not a Favour on some one of them. He was particularly very fond of one *Peña*, and jesting frequently with him, would snatch his Cap off his Head, and throw it down from a Gallery to make him run down for it, and then gave him some Jewel of Value. He took an extraordinary Fancy to him, and would certainly have made him very rich, had not his unfortunate Death prevented it; for he could never forbear smiling and being pleas'd whensoever he saw him, tho' *Cortes* were present; nor did he ever eat, or go abroad to divert himself but *Peña* was with him, and with good Reason, for he was pleasant, graceful, well shap'd, and discreet in all he said or did. *Moteczuma* was so generous, that he seem'd to contrive Opportunites to bestow his Favours, and seeing *Alonso de Ojeda* with a new Pouch of that Sort which are gather'd, and have several Purles in them, wrought with Silk, he begg'd it of him, view'd it nicely, was well pleas'd, and admir'd its being divided so neatly into so many Parts, to keep several Things. Being much delighted with it, he whistled softly, which was the Way when great Men call'd, some Gentlemen came to know his Pleasure, and he whisper'd them to do something, and in an Instant they gave *Ojeda* two beautiful *Indian* Women, many rich Mantles, a Bushel of Cacao, and some Jewels, far above what the Pouch would have been worth, tho' it had been of beaten Gold. *Ojeda* humbly return'd Thanks, and as nothing gains so many Friends as Affability and Generosity, the *Spaniards* all lov'd him as if he had been their Father, or Brother, besides the Respect they bore him as a great Prince. He often play'd at a *Spanish* Game of small Bowls

The HISTORY of *America*. 399

Bowls on the Ground, with *Cortes*, and *Peter de Alvarado*, and made a Difference in paying the Loofings, for when *Alvarado* lost he gave a *Chalchibite*, which is a Stone valu'd by the *Indians*, but not by the *Spaniards*, and when *Moteczuma* lost, he paid an Ingot of Gold, worth at least fifty Ducats, and he sometimes lost forty or fifty of them in one Afternoon, and was glad to lose that he might have an Opportunity to give.

By what outwardly appear'd, *Moteczuma* was desirous to please the *Spaniards* in all Things, and accordingly he offer'd *Cortes* another Daughter of his own, more beautiful than the former, thinking that as he had many Wives himself, *Cortes* might have several Mistresses, tho' they were Sisters. *Cortes* propos'd to marry her to *Christopher de Olid*, *Moteczuma* agreed to it, and so did *Olid*, on Account of her Beauty, and being the Daughter of so great a Prince. The King was well pleas'd with it, gave him Jewels of Value, and always treated him as his Kinsman. Those two Ladies were baptiz'd, and frequent Conferences were held with *Moteczuma* about Religious Affairs, and once *Cortes* propos'd to him, That since he manifestly discover'd the Falshood of his Idols, he should become a Christian, for it was only God that had created all Things, dispos'd of Empires in this Life, and would give him Bliss in the next. Tho' as far as could be perceiv'd the King was not displeas'd with what *Cortes* had said, he answer'd, That he would consider of it. Those who were best affected to him, on account of his noble Disposition, believ'd, and would have perswaded others, that if he had not been prevented by Death, he would have embrac'd the Faith, tho' the Devil endeavour'd to obstruct it; but others could not be induc'd to believe it. About this Time it hapned, that a *Spaniard* who was upon the King's Guard, having lost two *Indian Women*

men he had to attend him, pray'd him, that he would order Search to be made for them. The King said he would, and two Days passing without any News of them, the Soldier ask'd the same again in a presumptuous Manner. *Moteczuma* answer'd him angrily, and the *Spaniards* reply'd insolently, which drew Tears from that Prince, calling to Mind, that he was in the Hands of such a fierce Nation. *Cortes* being inform'd of it, order'd the Soldier to be hang'd, but upon many Entreaties only caus'd him to run the Gantlet. Some *Spaniards* intreated the King to ask of *Cortes* not to execute that Punishment, because among the *Spaniards* it was more grievous than Death. He answer'd, That *Cortes* did as became a good Commander, that he would only intercede to spare his Life, which he deserv'd to lose, and that he would have inflicted no less Punishment on any Nobleman in his Court that should have been saucy to *Cortes*. The next Day after this hapned, when the Guard was relieving, three Soldiers went off before they were reliev'd, for which *Cortes* order'd them to run the Gantlet, that *Moteczuma* might know how they were punish'd who did not their Duty, for he behav'd himself with wonderful Discretion in all Cases.

THE next Night, two Hours after it was dark, several *Naborias*, or *Indians* that carry Burdens, were taken, loaded with Lumps of Liquid Amber, which is a Sort of medicinal Rosin, next in Vertue to Balsam, of a considerable Value. *Cortes* order'd those to be secur'd, who had been concern'd in taking it, and *Moteczuma* being inform'd that his Favourite *Peña* was one of that Number, sent to ask of *Cortes*, why he had imprison'd his Friend, and his Comrades. He answer'd, because he had done him wrong, and taken the Liquid Amber. *Moteczuma* reply'd, that signify'd nothing, that he should order them to be immediately discharg'd

discharg'd immediately, for the *Spaniards* were not to be punish'd for any Thing but offering Violence, and committing Outrages. He was very glad to see *Peña* at Liberty, made very much of him, and desir'd he would never be out of his Presence.

Cortes perceiving that *Motexuma*, and the Gentry that resorted to him, began to grow easy in their Minds, and to take a Liking to the *Spaniards*; as also that he went abroad on those they reckon'd their chief Festivals, when many Men were sacrific'd, being troubled at that barbarous Cruelty, and confiding in *Motexuma's* mild Temper, he told him, " That as he
 " through the Divine Goodness was plac'd on the regal
 " Throne, so any one of the meanest of his Subjects
 " might have been seated there; and since he had receiv'd that high Dignity from one only God, who
 " bestow'd Kingdoms on whom he thought fit, which
 " could not be done by a Multiplicity of Gods, because there neither is, nor can be any such Thing,
 " and tho' there were, so many of them could not have
 " the same Power, and the same Will, it was fit he
 " should leave the Blindness he had liv'd in, and quit
 " those false Idols he ador'd, which were so cruel as
 " to delight in innocent Blood; and that he should
 " worship CHRIST, the true God, to the End that
 " his People might for the future know him that created and redeem'd them; and that since he show'd
 " so much Kindness to the Christians, approv'd of
 " their Customs, and was so dutifully obey'd by his
 " own Subjects, he beseech'd him he would be the
 " first, that the rest might follow his Example; and
 " that in case there should be any Commotion on that
 " Account, he would engage to punish any that should
 " insult him." *Motexuma* listned very attentively, and no less calmly answer'd, " That his People were
 " very numerous, and all of them born and bred in

“ the Worship of those Gods, and tho’ he should
 “ follow his Opinion, the rest would not, as valuing
 “ their Gods more than him; and that he did not
 “ understand how he could ask any such Thing of
 “ him, since those Gods had given them Health,
 “ worldly Goods, and Victory in their Wars, and
 “ when they were angry sent Barrenness, and punish’d
 “ them.” *Cortes* reply’d, “ That was a Mistake, for
 “ that the Devils, who caus’d themselves to be ador’d
 “ in the Shapes of those Idols, were no Gods, but
 “ Creatures hardned in their Sins, condemn’d to the
 “ Pains of Hell, and could do no more Harm than
 “ what God permitted, whereas all that was good came
 “ from the Hand of God, tho’ those Devils perswaded
 “ him otherwise; that he should start no Objections
 “ against his Request because they were only the Sug-
 “ gestions and Deceits of the Devil.” The King
 again insisted, “ That his Subjects would rebel against
 “ him, and if he should prove stronger than they,
 “ would go away to other Kingdoms, and leave his
 “ City desolate.” *Cortes* rejoin’d, “ That if they re-
 “ bell’d he would subdue them, and if they went
 “ away he would bring them back.” *Motexuma* sigh-
 ing bitterly, said, “ He would propose it to the Priests;”
 and *Cortes* pressing him, he added, “ That he might
 “ do what he would, but if any Thing hapned amiss,
 “ he should not complain of him; for he could not
 “ but tell him, that he and all his *Spaniards* would
 “ soon be destroy’d, for the *Indians* would cut off their
 “ Provisions, and make War, and it would not be in
 “ his Power to quell them.” *Cortes* again urg’d,
 “ That they would not be able to do any Thing, be-
 “ cause God was on his Side, and he would set up his
 “ Image in the great Temple, by whose Virtue they
 “ would have good Harvests, and a thousand other
 “ Blessings, which he ascrib’d to his false Gods.”

THEN

THEN losing no Time, an Altar was erected in a convenient Place in the Temple, and all the Men going in Procession arm'd, the Crucifix, and an Image of our Lady were plac'd on it, with much Solemnity and Devotion, those that had Skill singing *Te Deum Laudamus*, the *Mexicans* very silently looking on, as if God had ty'd their Hands, and Tongues. Cortes put on his best Garments, shed many Tears of Joy and Devotion, and was the first that kneeling down worshipp'd the Crucifix, saying, "Infinite Praise be given to thee, the true God, for ever and ever, for that thou hast been pleas'd; that after so many Years as the Devil sitting on this Throne, exercis'd his Tyranny over so many Nations, he should, by Means of our weak and unworthy Hands, be banish'd to the bottomless Pit, where he dwells. I beseech thee, since thou hast done us so singular a Favour, to be pleas'd to assist us hereafter, that this glorious Beginning may have no less blessed an End, to thy Honour and Glory." After the Placing of the Images, and the Prayer, a good Quantity of Gold was found in Hawk-bells, some of them so large that they weigh'd an hundred Pieces of Eight, hanging to certain Canopies; or Curtains, that were before the Idols; so that none could go into the Place where those Idols were, without making an agreeable Noise of small Bells, with the Motion of those Canopies or Curtains. Cortes return'd to *Moteczuma*, who receiv'd him with a chearful Countenance, suppressing the Grief that lay in his Heart, and immediately order'd a publick Stews there was in the *Tlatelulco*, where above four hundred Harlots; having every one a little Chamber, expos'd themselves for Gain, to be broken up; saying, that the publick Sins of those Women had provok'd the Gods to permit those Christians to come to his Kingdom and City, and to over-power him; never considering

considering how much more grievous and abominable their other Sins were, as Sodomy, sacrificing of innocent Persons, eating human Flesh, oppressing the weaker Sort, and depriving them of their Goods and Liberty, without having been guilty of any Offence.

A FEW Days after *Cortes* had perform'd that memorable Action, many *Indians* came to him, loaded with Reeds, and Ears of *Indian* Wheat, almost wither'd, and passionately complaining, said, " See what you have done, and how little we are oblig'd to you. " Take notice, that ever since you have affronted our Gods it has not rain'd, and for that Reason our Corn is parch'd up, and we shall soon starve." *Cortes* with the same Faith that induc'd him to do as he had done, answer'd them as positively as if he had known it. " What I have done is very right, and to the End that you may be sensible that your false Gods can neither give nor deprive you of temporal Blessings, which none can do but the true God whom we adore, be assur'd, that it will rain before to-morrow be over, and you shall have a better Harvest than ever you had; which I and my Companions will beg of our God." The *Indians* smil'd, as it were scoffing at *Cortes*, who calling together his Men, told them what had pass'd, pray'd them to repent of their Sins, to purpose to amend, and to be reconcil'd if they had any Grudges among them, to hear Mass the next Day, to beg of God together, to send Rain, to the End those Infidels might by that Mercy show'd them, be convinc'd that theirs were false Gods. Accordingly having all made their Peace with God in the best Manner they could, they heard the Mass celebrated by *F. Bartholomew de Olmedo*, assisted by *F. John Diaz*, and some others. *Cortes* and others receiv'd the blessed Sacrament, with much Zeal, and Tears. When the

the Mass was ended, before the *Spaniards* came down from the Temple, where this had been perform'd, the Sky being then very clear, in the Sight of all the People of *Mexico*, a Hill the *Spaniards* now call *Tepeaquilla*, began to be cover'd with a very thick Cloud, and such a violent Rain immediately follow'd, that tho' the Temple was very near the *Spanish* Quarters, they were very wet before they got Home; it rain'd all that Day, and some others following, so that it prov'd; one of the most fruitful Years they had ever known. The *Spaniards* return'd Thanks to God for that Mercy, and the Idolaters were confounded, tho' well comforted, seeing themselves deliver'd from the Famine and Mortality they had dreaded, for those two Plagues generally go together. *Moteczuma* was amaz'd, and rejoyc'd much with *Cortes*, who having so proper an Opportunity of making his Mind known to the People, desir'd the King to call together the Priests, and Gentry of the City, whom he would discourse in his Presence about his Religion, because it might happen that they would incline to believe in one God, and cast off their false Idols, giving over the sacrificing of innocent Persons. *Moteczuma* was well pleas'd with it, and when they were all come together, in the Presence of the King, the Soldiers being all ready under Arms, for what might happen, *Cortes* discours'd them as follows.

“ I have often wish'd, most potent Prince, and you
 “ noble Gentlemen, who according to the Custom of
 “ your Country are in the highest Places, that you
 “ would, laying aside all Prejudice, attentively hear
 “ from me, what I have often urg'd, relating to the
 “ true Religion of the Christians, and the Error you
 “ have hitherto liv'd in, to the Prejudice of your Souls
 “ and Bodies; and for as much as I have at several
 “ Times briefly and cursorily mention'd this Affair to
 “ his

“ his Highness, to some of the Nobility, and to the
 “ Priests that were present, and none has seem’d to be
 “ displeas’d at it ; I thought it proper to entreat his
 “ Highness to assemble you all together, to the End
 “ that God enlightning your Understandings, when
 “ you have heard what I have to say, you may be sa-
 “ tisfy’d that I have been much in the right in setting
 “ up in your Temple the Images of JESUS CHRIST,
 “ our God and our Redeemer, and of the most blessed
 “ Virgin his Mother, through whose Intercession he
 “ has, and does daily pour down his Mercies upon
 “ Mankind. To this Effect you are to understand,
 “ that there is no Nation in the World, that reflect-
 “ ing on the true Course of Nature, unless the Light
 “ which God from the Beginning imparted to it be
 “ darkned with Vices and Abominations, does hold
 “ there is more than one sovereign Principle, and one
 “ supreme Cause of all Things, for that Thing is su-
 “ preme which has nothing above it ; and since that
 “ which is supreme admits of no Superior or Equal,
 “ as you may know by your own Families, where
 “ none of you will suffer any one to controul him,
 “ it follows of Necessity, proceeding from one Wis-
 “ dom to another, from one Power to another, and
 “ from one Goodness to another, that we must at last
 “ come to that great Power, that great Wisdom, and
 “ that great Goodness which was able to create all
 “ Things out of nothing, for they had a Beginning,
 “ and are not eternal, by whose Wisdom they are,
 “ and for ever will be govern’d and directed, without
 “ any Error, and whose Goodness continually supports
 “ and gives them their Being, making Man Lord of
 “ the most of them. Then since it is impossible there
 “ should be two infinite Powers, Wisdoms, or Good-
 “ nesses, we must of Necessity acknowledge one on-
 “ ly God, infinitely powerful, infinitely wise, and in-
 “ finitely

“ finitely good ; for there cannot be two Gods, much
“ less a great Number, as you yourselves confess. And
“ to convince you of your Error, is it not ridiculous
“ for you to have one God for the Water, another for
“ the Fire, another for War, and so many more for
“ other Things, as if the Name of God did not im-
“ ply a supreme Power, to be sufficient for all Things.
“ So that if there is a God, as is own’d by all Nati-
“ ons, and the Meaning of the Word comprehends
“ more than any Understanding can conceive, it is
“ not consonant to Reason, that many should be em-
“ ploy’d about what one can do ; because one implies
“ Unity, and there is Discord among many ; and he
“ is stronger and more powerful who overcomes many
“ in Battle, than he that is assisted by many. A
“ farther Proof that there is but one God, may be ta-
“ ken from your own great Empire, in which one
“ Man, being the mighty Monarch *Motezuma*, is
“ plac’d above you all, and he alone rules and governs
“ you ; and if there were two or three more as power-
“ ful as he, his Power over you would be less ; and
“ there being several Wills and Opinions, the Govern-
“ ment could not be unanimous ; and therefore what-
“ soever is united in itself is more powerful than that
“ which is divided, which is the Reason why a wise
“ Man among us, said, That Strength united is more
“ prevalent than when divided into several Parts,
“ which appears to be so by a natural Comparison of
“ your own, and is, that the Liquor you drink be-
“ ing kept close and cover’d in a Vessel no bigger than
“ what will just contain it, preserves the Strength
“ better than if it were spilt in the Street, or put into
“ a Vessel too big, where the Life of it would be
“ lost. It is therefore evident, that since, as has been
“ said, we must own a Power so great as to be able to
“ do all Things, and that no other is able to do so
“ much,

“ much, it must be only one, and not many, and
 “ therefore it follows that this most mighty, only,
 “ and immense Power can be no otherwise nam’d than
 “ God, and not Gods; and that he is one God, and
 “ not many Gods, plainly appears by his Works, be-
 “ cause all of them together, and every one apart de-
 “ monstrate Unity, and not Plurality. He created
 “ not many Worlds, but only one, and that compos’d
 “ of many Units; he created not many Earths, but
 “ one Earth; not many Seas, but one Sea; or many
 “ Fires, but one Fire; and creating four Elements,
 “ there was but one of each of them; one Essence of
 “ Heavens, one Man, and one Woman, from whom
 “ we are all descended; one Soul in every Man; one
 “ Sun, one Moon, in one Heaven. He gave one
 “ Law, one Faith, one Baptism, to the End that he
 “ being one, all that he made should by its Unity
 “ show the Maker to be one. And forasmuch as I
 “ am satisfy’d you know not whence your Error pro-
 “ ceeded, in believing the contrary of what I have
 “ said, tho’ against all Reason, you must understand
 “ that when God created Heaven and Earth, he also
 “ created two Sorts of Creatures more excellent than
 “ all the rest; the one of them altogether Spiritual,
 “ without any Body, whom we call Angels, or hea-
 “ venly Spirits; the other was the Man and Woman,
 “ compos’d of a spiritual Soul, and such a Body as
 “ you see with your Eyes. Among the Angels there
 “ was one very remarkable, who not reflecting that he
 “ had receiv’d his excellent Being from God, rebell’d
 “ against God, his Creator. The third Part of the
 “ Angels sided with him, for which Offence they
 “ were cast out of Heaven, and as they never did,
 “ nor ever will repent of their Crime, they have ever
 “ since, and will to the End of the World aim at,
 “ and endeavour to carry on two Things. The one

“ is,

“ is, that persisting in their Malice, and being dam-
“ ned Creatures, they aspire to be ador’d as creating
“ Gods, inculcating that which natural Reason does
“ not allow of, any more than Faith, *viz.* That there
“ are several Principles, and eternal Causes. By Means
“ of this blind Notion they have and do endeavour to
“ promote the second, which is, by believing in them
“ to divert Men from believing in and serving one God,
“ their Creator, to the End that after their temporal
“ Death, they may not enjoy that happy Place which
“ they lost by their Wickedness. Now since God
“ signifies as much as the supreme Goodness and Cle-
“ mency, if those you worship were true Gods, they
“ would be really good ; but since they have so often
“ ly’d to you, and cause themselves to be ador’d under
“ such hideous Figures, as well of Men as of other
“ fierce Creatures, and since they allow of Sodomy,
“ Rapine, Tyranny, Murdering of innocent Persons,
“ and other such Sins, what can you imagine them to
“ be but Devils, and your Enemies? When you con-
“ sult them, they give ambiguous Answers, to the
“ End that the Thing hapning either one Way or the
“ other, you may give Credit to them. And they
“ being so antient, and God permitting them to do
“ some particular Things, as Thundering, Hailing,
“ and the like, you believe them to be Gods, with-
“ out considering, as I have said before, that God
“ does not hate, nor do harm, nor needs the Help of
“ another to work what Wonders he pleases, as you
“ saw the last Week, when the Sky being so clear, he
“ at our Request, sent you so much Rain, that you
“ never had a more plentiful Year than this will prove.
“ And since, if you lay aside all Prejudice, what I
“ have said is sufficient to convince your Understand-
“ ing, and the late Miracle is a Demonstration of the
“ Truth of what I have urg’d, I beseech you most
“ VOL. II. G g g “ mighty

410 *The HISTORY of America.*

“ mighty King, Gentlemen, and Priests, to open
 “ your Eyes, and as your eternal Life depends either
 “ upon believing or not believing me, seriously to
 “ consider what I have said ; for I hope in God, if
 “ you do so, he will give you Light to be more fully
 “ convinc’d of the Truth, I here preach to
 “ you.”

WHEN he had put an End to his Speech, they all continu’d a considerable Time in Suspence, whispering one another, most of them being convinc’d with the Force of the eternal Truth, tho’ then the Devil, as being so much concern’d in it, most violently assaulted them with the immemorial Custom establish’d among them of following and adoring him. They all waited to hear what *Moteczuma* would answer, and he in short said, “ He lik’d what *Cortes* had propos’d ; but
 “ that being such lofty Points, he would have him
 “ explain them to him very particularly, and would
 “ give Orders, that no Men should be sacrific’d.” The next Day he sent for his High-Priest, and directed him to comply with the *Spaniards* for a few Days, in not sacrificing Men, tho’ in other Respects they should not be hindred from adoring their Gods ; saying, he had temporiz’d with the Commander *Cortes*, to avoid Disturbing his Empire, and raising a Commotion, and therefore they should permit the Chistians to honour and worship their own God, and they might do as they thought fit. *Moteczuma* was mild, and very discreet, and therefore it was thought he temporiz’d with the *Spaniards* and the *Indians* to prevent any Insurrections in his Dominions, and some were of Opinion, that he forbore being a Christian out of Fear. The Priests, on account of their Interest, and the Respect that was paid them, could not dissemble their Hatred against the *Spaniards*, especially when they saw them hear Mass, and pray in that great Temple ; at which
 Time

Time they mutter'd very much, to provoke the Nobility and Gentry not to bear with it. They discours'd it with *Moteczuma's* Favourites, and others nearest about him, magnifying the Injury done them, and the Affront to their Gods, who had so many Years supply'd them with all Necessaries for human Life. They continually study'd new Arguments, and ask'd, Why they should quit the Religion they had so long embrac'd, to follow a new one, which they knew nothing of.

WHILST these Things were in Agitation, *Conatpopoca* arriv'd, with his Son, and fifteen more Men of Quality, who had been concern'd with him in killing the *Spaniards*, being twenty Days after the Confinement of *Moteczuma*. He was conducted into *Mexico* by many great Men that went out to meet him, being brought in upon the Shoulders of his Servants, and Vassals. When come to the Palace he alighted, put on Garments of less Value than those he had before, and took off his Shoes, because none was to appear shod before the King, waited some Time till he had Leave to go in, drew near alone, all that went with him staying far behind, and having made many Bows, and perform'd the usual Ceremonies, with his Head hanging down, and his Eyes fix'd on the Ground, he said, "Most high and mighty Sovereign, here is your Slave *Conatpopoca*, whom you have commanded to come, consider what you will have done, for I am your Slave, and must of Necessity obey you." *Moteczuma* very sternly answer'd, "He had done very ill in killing the *Spaniards* without any Provocation, and saying he had done it by his Order; and therefore he should be punish'd as a Traytor to the strange Men and to his King." *Conatpopoca* going about to excuse himself, he would not hear him, ordering, that he, his Son, and the rest should

be deliver'd up to *Cortes*, who having fetter'd them all apart from one another, caus'd them to be examin'd, and they confess'd the killing of the *Spaniards*. Being ask'd, whether he was *Moteczuma's* Subject, he answer'd, "Is there any other Lord in the World that I could be subject to?" They were examin'd a second Time more strictly, and threatned with the Rack, and all unanimously confess'd that they had kill'd the two first *Spaniards* by *Moteczuma's* Order, as they had likewise those in the Field. When they had made this Confession, and confirm'd it, *Cortes* condemn'd *Conatlpopoca* and the rest to be burnt. The Sentence being made known to them, *Conatlpopoca* said, That tho' he was to suffer Death for having kill'd those two *Spaniards*, his great Lord *Moteczuma* had commanded him, and that he should not have presum'd to do it, unless he had thought it for his Service. He, with his Son, and all the rest, were conducted under a strong Guard of *Spaniards*, to a very large Square, and being all plac'd on a great Pile of broken Bows and Arrows, that were very dry, with their Hands and Feet bound, Fire was set to it, and there he again confess'd the same as he had before. He pray'd to his Gods, as the rest did, the Fire blaz'd, and they were soon burnt, without any Disturbance, the *Mexicans* admiring the Execution done by Strangers in such a great City and Kingdom, and in the Presence of their King. Before and after this Execution, that the *Spaniards* might be always in a Readiness, *Cortes* made Proclamation that none of them should go naked to Bed, and that the Horses should stand all the Night saddled, with their Bridles at the Pommels of the Saddles, because it was suspected that there would be an Insurrection, and that they would attack the *Spaniards* when they were asleep, but the Vigilancy of *Cortes* was thought to have disappointed that Design; and he caus'd the first Soldier
that

that was found to have lain naked, to be expos'd to publick Shame, keeping him two Days in Fetters, in the open Air, enduring the Dew in the Night, and the Sun in the Day, with a Clog at his Foot, no Entreaties prevailing to relieve him, alledging, that Severity was requisite in such Cases.

AFTER the aforesaid Confession was made, whilst they were carrying *Conatlopoca* to Execution, *Cortes* attended by his prime Men, went to *Motexuma*, and said to him, " You know you have deny'd your having order'd *Conatlopoca* to kill my Companions; you have not done therein as became so great a Prince as you are; and since you have occasion'd the Death of my Men, as also of *Conatlopoca*, his Son, and so many of his People, had I not regard to the Affection you have shown to my King, and in his Name to me, who am come from him to visit you, you would deserve to pay for it with your Life, for both the Divine and human Law appoints that a Murderer, as you are, should die. However, that you may not go altogether unpunish'd, and both you and your People may be sensible how advantageous it is to deal sincerely, I will order you to be fetter'd." *Motexuma* was very much surpriz'd at this Reproof, and could scarce utter his Words for Confusion, but only said, He was innocent, and he might do what he would with him. *Cortes* went away from him in a very angry Manner, and immediately after he was fetter'd. It was thought that *Cortes* had us'd this Policy, to divert him from the Grief he might justly conceive at the Execution of *Conatlopoca* in his own Sight. It is impossible to express how much *Motexuma* was concern'd, when he saw himself fetter'd, he affirm'd he was innocent, and lamented his Condition. His Kindred, and Nobility were astonish'd at that Sight, and in that Consternation they wept,

wept, and knelt down, bearing up the Fetters with their Hands, and thrusting fine Cloths through the Links, that they might not touch his Flesh ; nor could they think what to do, for if they had Recourse to Arms, they concluded their Lord would certainly die, which added to their Terror. When *Conalpopoca* was executed, *Cortes* thinking he had gain'd his Point, went in the Afternoon to *Motezuma*, and saluting him with a good Air, order'd the Fetters to be taken off, telling him, that tho' according to the Confessions of the Persons executed, he deserv'd to be more severely punish'd, yet, for the Love he bore him, and because he could not believe so great a Prince guilty of such a foul Action, he had commanded him to be unfetter'd. *Motezuma* was as much rejoyc'd at these Words, as he had been before dejected, upon being reprov'd, and put into Irons. He embrac'd *Cortes*, return'd him many Thanks, and bestow'd many Favours that Day, as well on the *Spaniards* as his own People. He always affirm'd he had not been concern'd in the Death of the *Spaniards*. *Cortes* pretended to believe him, treating him very affectionately, praying and importuning him to go away freely to his own Palace, as he was before for he desir'd nothing but to serve and please him. *Motezuma*, who knew the Malice of his Subjects, to avoid encouraging them to any Commotion, answer'd, He thank'd him, but that it was not then convenient to remove from thence, and that he was better pleas'd in his Company, than in his own Palace. *Cortes* then took his Leave, many *Mexican* Noblemen attending him, so well pleas'd, that had not the Priests overperswaded them, they had always liv'd in Peace and Amity.

BEFORE the Execution of *Conalpopoca*, *Cortes* being always very vigilant, got Information, that there was great Store of Targets, Darts, Bows, Swords, and

and Spears in a Royal Palace call'd *Tlacochalco*, and suspecting that those Stores had been laid up against him, he signify'd so much to *Moteczuma*, who answer'd, It had always been his Custom to keep great Magazines of Arms for War, because he had many Enemies, and that such Precaution had deliver'd him from an imminent Danger, into which he had, among others, been brought by the *Tlascalans*, and People of *Mechoacan*, and that they were preserv'd for no other End in that House, where he had seen them. However *Cortes* thinking it the safest Way to disarm an Enemy, since had a proper Opportunity offer'd for so doing, order'd that all those Arms should be made Use of for Fuel, to burn *Conatlopoca*, and the rest, and these were the Arms said before to have been us'd for Burning of them,



C H A P. III.

Cortes endeavours to discover the Gold Mines; Mexico submits to the King of Spain, and pays Tribute; a Disturbance among the Spaniards; Moteczuma bids Cortes be gone, and why.



CORTES was very earnest to find out how far the *Mexican* Empire extended, and whether they were in the same Subjection without as within the City; as also to discover the other Secrets of the Country, and to send some Supplies to the King of *Spain*, as a Token of what he had

had discover'd. To this Purpose he thought fit to talk to *Motezuma*, and being in Discourse with him, ask'd, where the Mines were, in what Rivers, and how the Gold was gather'd, because he would send two *Spaniards*, who were very skillful in that Affair. The King answer'd, that Gold was brought from three several Places, but that the most came from a Province call'd *Zacatula*, ten or twelve Days Journey Southward from *Mexico*; and that there was some to the Northward in other Rivers. That not far from thence, there was some in a Province call'd *Chinantla*, which did not belong to his Dominions; and if he would send to the *Zapotecas*, he would find Gold there, and Men should be sent to show it. *Cortes* sent away *Gonçalo de Umbria*, who had been a Pilot, with two Soldiers, ordering him to return within forty Days. To the Mines Northward he sent Captain *Pizarro*, a Youth about twenty-five Years of Age, whom he treated as his Relation, with six Soldiers, assigning him also forty Days to return, and they had all *Indians* with them. *Cortes* desir'd *Motezuma* to tell him, whether there was any Harbour in the Coast of the North Sea, within his Dominions, where the *Spanish* Ships might be safe, and he gave him all that Coast painted on a Piece of Cotton Cloth, with all the Rivers and Inlets, from *Panuco* to *Tabasco*, the whole very exact, being about one hundred and forty Leagues, where was represented the mighty River of *Gnazacoalco*, and there being much Talk of its Greatness, he resolv'd to send to sound it, and to take a View of the Town, and the People, and all other Things in the Neighbourhood. Captain *James de Ordas* offer'd to go on that Errand, and took along with him *Indians* appointed by *Motezuma*, being warn'd, that *Tabasco* and *Gnazacoalco* were not within his Dominions, but inhabited by fierce and warlike People, but he order'd his Troops

that

that lay on those Frontiers to be assisting to *James de Ordas*.

Gonzalo de Umbria was the first that return'd, with his Companions, bringing three hundred Pesos of Gold, taken out of the Rivers before him, by the *Indians* of *Zacatula*, and said, that the Mines were good and rich. They likewise brought Gold Plates to the Value of two hundred Pieces of Eight, which the Lords of that Country sent as a Present to *Cortes*, by some of their own Servants, with an Offer to submit themselves to the King of *Spain*, provided that the *Cubias* should not come into their Country, and that he should protect them against their Tyranny. *Cortes*, who had a very agreeable way of delivering himself, thank'd them, and gave Assurances of his Protection against *Moteczuma*, dismissing them with Presents for their Masters, and for themselves, being well pleas'd that *Moteczuma* should perceive how many su'd for his Friendship. *Gonzalo de Umbria* reported, that there were very large Towns not far from *Mexico*, and that they liv'd orderly. *James de Ordas* also return'd, and said, he had pass'd through very considerable Places, where he was well treated, and much respect show'd him; that coming to *Moteczuma's* Garrisons he perswaded them not to plunder, or insult their Neighbours, assuring them that they would be punish'd if they did; that as soon as the Lord of *Guazacoalco* heard of his coming, he sent out to meet him, and was pleas'd to see him, because he had heard of the *Spaniards* ever since *John de Grijalva* pass'd along that Coast; that sounding the Mouth of the River he found three Fathoms Water, and farther up, it was deeper, for which reason and because it was of so great an Extent, the Pilots that went with him fancy'd it might be a Streight that ran through to the other Sea; that the Lord had given him some Gold, and made

great Complaints against the *Mexican* Soldiers, saying, he was continually at War with them; and that he having made some Return of such *Spanish* Toys as he had then, came away, being of Opinion that the Country was good to breed Cattle, and make other Improvements, and the Harbour very convenient for the Islands of *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, *Puerto Rico* and *Jamaica*, tho' it was above one hundred and twelve Leagues from *Mexico*. Capt. *Pizarro* return'd with two of his Companions, bringing the Value of one thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold Dust, taken out of the Mines of the *Chinantecans*, and others; saying, that as soon as they came upon the Frontiers of *Chinantla*, abundance of *Indians* arm'd like the rest, but with extraordinary long Spears, or Pikes, were drawn up, saying, the *Teules*, so they call'd the *Spaniards* might enter their Country and welcome, but that no *Mexican* should be admitted, because they were their Enemies; and being inform'd of what they sought for, they show'd them all the Rivers where there was good Store of it, and that the Country being very good, peaceable, and rich in Mines, he had left *Barrientos*, old *Heredia*, *Escalona* and *Cervantes* there, having with the Assistance of the *Indians* built a large Dwelling, where they might improve the Land, and search the Rivers and Mines. *Cortes* was not pleas'd with his leaving those Men behind, because he was not willing as yet to divide them, or do any more than discover the Secrets of the Country. The Lord of the *Chinantecans* sent two Gentlemen to Compliment *Cortes*, with a Present, offering to submit to the King of *Spain*, complaining of the *Mexicans*, and affirming that they were much hated in those Parts. He receiv'd the Present, and soon sent them away very well pleas'd, because the *Mexicans* did not like such Messages, and he fear'd they might do them some Mischief. *Moteczuma* him-
self

self could not forbear showing his dislike of these Embassies, tho' he endeavour'd to conceal it, because the *Chinantecans* were particularly look'd upon as a warlike People, and their Country was mountainous.

ONE of the Things that *Cortes* was most intent upon was about sending the King a considerable Supply of Gold, in order, by that means, to lessen the Weight of the Complaints he knew *James Velasquez* would send against him. Tho' he believ'd that *Cacamazin*, Lord of *Tezcuco* bore him no good Will, he desir'd him to contribute to that Design. He answer'd smiling, that he would, and order'd a Servant to go with *John Velasquez de Leon* and others appointed by *Cortes*, to deliver them all the Gold there was in his House, upon Condition that they should not touch the *Chalchibites*, Stones before spoken of, nor the Plumes he had for their Festivals, and Wars. When they came to the *Tlatelulco*, which is the great Market of *Mexico*, the *Indian* endeavour'd to give them the Slip, whereupon they return'd to *Cortes*, who complaining to *Cacamazin*, he caus'd the *Indian* to be hang'd before his Face, and immediately appointed another, with whom they set out, were met in solemn Manner before they came to that City, well lodg'd and entertain'd, and tho' they gave them all beautiful *Indian* Women, they would not receive them. The next Day they look'd out for the Gold, and *Alonso de Ojeda* feeling about in a dark Room met with some Jars, carry'd one of them out to the Light, and found they were full of Honey, sweeter and clearer than the best in *Spain*. A considerable Quantity of Gold was found, besides Pearls, and Garments, but they would touch none of the latter without Orders from *Cortes*, who said, they should take them, if freely given. They carry'd eighty Men laden with them, which *Cortes* divided, and kept the Gold. The *Indian* Women were also carry'd

away, because it was an Affront not to accept of them.

Cacamazin mortally hated the *Spaniards*, and going away to *Tezcucoc*, told his prime Men, how much he lov'd them, desiring they would reflect how they were kept under by that Handful of Strangers, presuming to confine his Uncle *Motezuma*, to whom the greatest Respect was due, next to the Gods; that it was not tolerable that so small a Number, and those of another Religion, should shamefully turn them out of their Houses, and what was still worse, to set up their Gods in the Temple instead of those of the Country; that it was high Time to stand up for their Religion, their Liberty, their Honour, their Country, and their King, without waiting till they had Succours from their own Country, from *Tlascala*, and from other Parts, and therefore they should make ready their Arms, and their Men, for he was resolv'd to fall upon those Intruders; yet if they differ'd in Opinion, they might tell him so, and he would be advis'd by them. They all approv'd of his Design, saying, he was able to perform greater Actions than that, and offering to stand by him. But some antient Men, who had no Mind to flatter him, said, He should consider what he did, that *Cortes* was brave, and had gain'd several Victories, and they believ'd there was very great Friendship between him and *Motezuma*, for if he would have drove him out of *Mexico*, he might have done it; they advis'd him not to be carry'd away by the Fire of Youth, or the Ambition of Rule, since there were other Heirs as near as he. However, the Majority prevailing, War was agreed on, and Preparations were made with the greatest Privacy, that nothing of it might be known by *Motezuma*, or *Cortes*, but in vain, for they soon had notice of it.

Cortes

Cortes perceiving that *Cacamazin* was a turbulent Youth, and suspecting that *Moteczuma's* Want of Resolution, or the great Affection he shew'd for the *Spaniards*, encourag'd him to undertake that Design, sent Word to *Moteczuma*, that he had much Cause to suspect him, because since what had hapned about *Conalpopoca*, his Nephew *Cacamazin* was conspiring against him, who was so much his Servant, and therefore he pray'd him to put a Stop to those Proceedings, otherwise all the Mischief must light upon himself, and at the same Time order'd that they should repeat to him some Words *Cacamazin* had sent him, about endeavouring to set himself at Liberty, as he ought to do for his own and the Honour of his Gods, for otherwise he could not forbear asserting it himself. *Moteczuma* was much startled at this Message, and affirm'd, he knew nothing of what his Nephew was doing; that he was very well pleas'd there, as delighted in the Company of the *Spaniards*, and would send for his Nephew *Cacamazin*, and if he refus'd to come, would order him to be brought by Force, and deliver'd up into his Hands to be punish'd, if convicted of that Crime. *Cacamazin* was then preparing for War, and the People readily came in to him, because he gave out that he would rescue the King. This Affair put the *Spaniards* upon their Guard, and *Cortes*, being no Way discourag'd, design'd, for making an Example, and establishing his own Reputation, to go himself to *Tezcucoco*, and attack *Cacamazin* in his own House; but *Moteczuma* prevented it, alledging, that the City was strong, being seated in the Water, and the People of *Culua* at his Nephew's Command, and therefore it was better to take another Course. *Cortes* follow'd his Advice, and sent to bid *Cacamazin* remember their Friendship; that he should consider it was an easy Matter to begin a War, but not so easy to put an End to it, and that it would be
for

for his Advantage to keep in Favour with the King of *Spain*, and his Subjects. He answer'd; He would entertain no Friendship with those that took away his Honour, and his Kingdom, kept the People in Subjection, oppress'd the Country, and overthrew their Religion; that he knew not who the King of *Spain* was, nor did he desire to be inform'd of it; and that if he would not have him make War, he should immediately depart *Mexico*. *Cortes* again very mildly advis'd him to desist, and finding it avail'd not, desir'd *Moteczuma* to lay his Commands on him. The King sent for him, saying, He would find some Means to allay those Animosities; which he was so far from regarding, that he said, If his Uncle were a Man, he would not suffer himself to be confin'd by a handful of Strangers, who had possess'd themselves of his Empire; and since *Moteczuma* was so mean-spirited, he was resolv'd not to desist from his Enterprize, to restore the Monarchy to its former Splendor, which had been lost through his Cowardise. Hereupon *Cortes* resolv'd to march out to meet *Cacamaxin*, tho' the Danger was very great, considering the Multitude of Enemies both within and without; but still *Moteczuma* detain'd him, contriving with some of his Nephew's Commanders, that they should seize and deliver him into his Hands. They being brib'd, as they were with *Cacamaxin*, consulting about the Management of the War, secur'd him, notwithstanding all the Opposition he made, or the Arguments he could use; and with all speed, before any thing of it was known abroad, convey'd him by Water to *Mexico*, and had him carry'd on Men's Shoulders, richly clad to *Moteczuma's* Appartment, who would not see him, but order'd he should be deliver'd to *Cortes*, who being well pleas'd to have escap'd that Danger, order'd him to be close confin'd. The next Day, by the advice of *Moteczuma*,

ma, *Quizquizcail*, a younger Brother to *Cacamazin*, was constituted Lord of *Culuacan*, he being then at *Mexico* with his Unkle, having made his Escape from his Brother, and *Motezuma* conferr'd on him the Crown, and the Title of King with the usual Solemnity, telling him, He design'd for the future to look upon him as his Son; that having fled from his Brother, he had taken Sanctuary in his Palace, without any Thoughts of being rais'd to that high Dignity, and since he had attain'd to it during his Life, he should look upon it as a Warning not to deviate from his Duty, nothing being more fatal to Kings than living disorderly, and giving Credit to Flatterers, who were wont to lead them into such Affairs, as they had afterwards cause to repent when it was too late. *Quizquizcail* kiss'd his Hand, and promis'd Obedience, and then turning to *Cortes*, gave him Thanks, protesting he would be his Friend and Servant.

Cacamazin was much concern'd, when he heard that his Brother was made Lord of his Dominions, and *Cortes* had him strictly observ'd, knowing there were many that would willingly have convey'd him back to *Tezcucó*. *Motezuma* sent two Embassadors to signify to that City the new Election, and caus'd the Elect to be attended by many of his Courtiers, and *Cortes* sent along with him several of his prime Men, both of them in Person bearing him Company to the Gates of *Mexico*. He was receiv'd at *Tezcucó* with all publick Demonstrations of Joy; being carry'd on Men's Shoulders. At the entrance into the City the Magistrates took him up, and when come to the Palace an ancient Gentleman set a Garland of Flowers on his Head, and all the Company being silent, made a Speech to him, the Purport whereof was, " That he
" was sensible, how when he was serving *Motezuma*,
" being fled from his Brother, on Account of his Pride,
" the

“ the God’s had rais’d him to that high Dignity, for
 “ which reason he ought to take care not to change
 “ his noble Disposition, for that the main Thing
 “ King’s should endeavour to acquire, was the Love of
 “ their Subjects ; that all there present were pleas’d to
 “ see themselves deliver’d from the heavy Yoak of
 “ his Brothers Domination ; that he should rejoyce,
 “ since he began to reign with the general Satisfaction
 “ of all Men, that he should behave himself like a
 “ King, who they hop’d would live long contentedly,
 “ for all the People receiv’d him as their Lord, ho-
 “ nouring him as a God, and respecting him as a Fa-
 “ ther, saluting him as became Children, and wishing
 “ him welcome. ” The new King in return, gave
 Thanks to God for having deliver’d him from Sub-
 jection to his Brother ; for having promoted him so
 highly, and being so favourably receiv’d ; promising
 to treat them as his own Children, and desiring that
 since the great *Cortes* had preferr’d him to that Post
 they should honour and respect him, to whom he
 own’d himself indebted. These and other Ceremonies
 being perform’d, the People withdrew, and *Cortes* was
 deliver’d from the Danger that had threatned him.

Alonso de Grado was disgusted with *Cortes*, for having
 taken from him the Government of *Vera Cruz*, and
 being desirous to be reveng’d, kept a Man on the Sea
 Coast, to give him Notice when any Ships arriv’d
 from *James Velasquez*. *Cortes* being inform’d of it,
 sent for him, he was brought into the Court, pini-
 on’d, with a Halter about his Neck, and as soon as he
 came in the Drums beat, and there was a great Shout,
 for so it had been contriv’d, the more to shame him.
Cortes gave him some hard Words, saying, if it were
 not for Pity he would hang him ; but order’d him
 to be confin’d, till some Days after, at the Request
 of *Peter de Alvarado*, and others, he set him at Liberty.

After

After this Punishment inflicted, which was altogether new to several prime *Indians* that saw it, he reprov'd *Alonso de Grado*, and it hapned that about three hundred *Indian* Men and Women belonging to *Cortes*, went into one of *Motezuma's* Store-houses of *Cacao*, in which there were above forty thousand Loads of it, which was then, and still is a great Treasure, for every Load was worth forty Pieces of Eight, and all that Night they were carrying it to the *Spanish* Quarters. *Peter de Alvarado* being inform'd of it, order'd *Alonso de Ojeda*, who was that Night upon *Motezuma's* Guard, to let him know as soon as reliev'd, for he would have a Share in it. He did so, and went thither with fifty Persons, who brought away Loads of it. The *Cacao* was in Wicker Baskets, as big as Wine Fats, which six Men could not grasp, being plaister'd both within and without, and plac'd in order like Fats; those Baskets being us'd like Bins, for *Indian* Wheat, and other Grain, which kept well in them. Six hundred Loads were taken away that Night, and only six Baskets empty'd. The next Day the Track of the Theft appear'd, *Cortes* order'd Enquiry to be made about it, and had not *Alvarado* been concern'd in it, he would have shown his Severity; but he told him his Mind in private, and gave him a sharp reprimand.

All was very peaceable at *Mexico*, when *Motezuma*, either at the Perswasion of *Cortes*, or of his own Accord, tho' the former is most likely, summon'd all the Princes, and great Men of his Empire to assemble at *Mexico* on a Day appointed, upon an Affair that concern'd them very much. When they were all met with the greatest State every one could, after the usual Ceremonies, being seated in the Royal Palace, with the Gentry of the City, *Motezuma* in his Royal Robes, and *Cortes* with his prime Men, in their best Apparel,

a Throne was plac'd with a costly covering on which *Motezuma* and *Cortes* seated themselves, nobody knowing what was to be propos'd. Then a Sign being made with the Hand to enjoin Silence, that Monarch with much Gravity said, " That during the space of eighteen Years he had reign'd over them they had been " made sensible of his Affection towards them, how " much Confidence he had repos'd in them, and of " the Uprightness of his Government; and he on the " other Hand was sensible of their Worth, and Loyalty, whence they might conclude, that he would " not have brought them together unless it were upon " some Affair that was for their Advantage; that " they should call to mind what had been told them " by their Forefathers, and what had been asserted by " their Soothsayers and Priests, viz. that they were " not Natives of that Country, and that their Kingdom would not last long, for their Ancestors came " from very distant Lands, and their Leader soon after " return'd, saying he would send somebody to govern " them; that they had always expected that Governor, who was then come, being the great King " of *Spain*, who had sent his Commander *Cortes*, and " those that were with him, who said they were of " the same Lineage, and therefore they might thank " God that they were come in their Days, since what " was to be could not be avoided, and the Will of " the Gods must be fulfill'd; for which reason he " intreated them, that they would jointly with him, " do Homage to *Cortes* in the Name of the King of " *Spain* his Sovereign, since he had already declar'd " himself his Friend, and Servant; and that for the " future, tho' he was absent they should serve, obey, " and pay Tribute to him, as they had done to his " own Person, by which he should perceive how much " they lov'd him, and that he had not been in the

" Wrong

“ Wrong in loving them.” He could not forbear shedding Tears when he came to those Words, and his Sighs and Sobs obstructed his saying any more, which so affected all his Audience, that it occasion’d a general silent Lamentation, insomuch that the *Spaniards* themselves, tho’ they were doing their own Business, could not refrain from Weeping. That Excess of Grief overwhelm’d them for above a Quarter of an Hour, so that no Man could speak to *Moteczuma*, whom *Cortes* in the mean time took by the Hands, and spoke to him some Words of Comfort.

WHEN their Grief was somewhat vented, and all hush’d again, one of those great Men took upon him to answer *Moteczuma*, and said, “ That all those his Relations, Friends, Servants, and Subjects, had list’ned to him with much Attention and Respect, and if they had imagin’d he design’d to make such an Overture to them, they would not have met, to avoid seeing such a mighty Monarch under so much Grief; that it was impossible they should not be concern’d at such a Change, which would overthrow their Religion, Laws, and Customs; but since the Gods thought fit it should be so, since there were so many Predictions of it, and that the *Mexican* Empire was to end in him, since they must of Necessity submit to the Will of the Gods, and since he did so, they all agreed to what he did, and own’d themselves Subjects to the King of *Spain*, as had been predicted.” Then not being able to proceed any farther for Sighs, after the usual Ceremonies, two Notaries that were present, at the Request of *Cortes*, drew up a Certificate of all that had pass’d, and he spoke to all the Company after this Manner. “ Princes, Lords, Friends, and well beloved, it has highly pleas’d me to see you so readily comply with the Opinion of the great *Moteczuma*, for herein you conform yourselves

“ to what the true God will have done at this Time
 “ rather than at another, for your Advantage, and tho’
 “ you cannot at present but be concern’d at so great
 “ a change, you’ll soon be sensible of how much you
 “ have been in the Right, *Moteczuma* will be a great
 “ King, as hitherto, and you all will continue as you
 “ are, all that is intended is to lead you out of the
 “ Blindness you are in, to defend you in Wars, and
 “ do you other good Turns which will appear in Time.”

After this the Assembly broke up, and every Man
 went to his own Home. *Cortes* waited on *Moteczuma*,
 returning Thanks for what he had done. There was
 much muttering in the City, about this Innovation,
 and it was the common Talk, that the Race and Do-
 mination of *Culúa* expir’d in *Moteczuma*. They said
 it would not have been so, had he not been call’d by
 that Name, which signifies Angry, to denote his Mis-
 fortune, and that the Gods had assur’d him, he should
 reign but eight Years, and should not be succeeded
 by any Son, or other Heir, for which reason he would
 not make War with the *Spaniards*, since they were to
 be his Successors; tho’ he did not believe that to be
 altogether true, since he had reign’d above seventeen
 Years; but perhaps they were mistaken in the Num-
 ber ten.

A FEW Days after *Cortes* told *Moteczuma* it was rea-
 sonable that some Present should be sent the King, as
 an Acknowledgment for the Homage paid him, and
 that it ought to be collected throughout all the Pro-
 vinces. Though this seem’d out of the way to *Mo-
 tezuma*, he return’d a favourable Answer, and sent some
 of his Servants with the *Spaniards* to the Bird House,
 who going into a room saw a great Quantity of Gold
 in Plates, Ingots, and wrought Pieces. They call’d
Cortes, and he order’d it all to be carry’d to his Ap-
 partment, which *Moteczuma* seem’d to approve, but his
 Servants

Servants were very sorry for it. Besides that, he gave abundance of Cotton, and Feather Cloth of curious natural Colours, so rich that the *Spaniards* had never seen the like, and twelve extraordinary costly Trunks to shoot Pellets, adorn'd with most curious Silver Work, cast and engrav'd, with Gold Nets to hold the Moulds and Pellets. He likewise sent several Servants, and a *Spaniard* with every one of them to his Subject and confederate Provinces to gather a Duty for the King of *Spain*; and tho' they saw it was for a foreign King, he was so punctually obey'd, that the Messengers soon return'd with Jewels, Gold, Silver, and other Things, all which he, without looking on't, sent to *Cortes*, who receiv'd it in the Presence of the King's Officers, viz. *Gonzalo Mexia* Treasurer, and *Alonso de Avila* Controller, appointed by himself, till the King should order otherwise. Having caus'd the Gold to be cast by *Moteczuma's* Founders, that were at *Escapuzalco*, saving some Curiosities, which he thought better to preserve as they were, the King's Officers said it amounted to above six hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, including five hundred in Silver, of which there was not much because they knew not then how to manage it. There being no Weights to weigh and divide that Wealth, they made some of Iron, of a Quarter, and Half a Quarter of an Hundred, a Pound, and Half Pound, as exact as they could, and as soon as weigh'd they consulted about dividing it, and tho' there was no Difficulty in it, *Cortes* still delay'd, saying, they should stay till there was a greater Quantity, and the Weights were more exact; but they all unanimously crav'd to have it divided, believing that he and they were defrauded, of what shrunk away, because it was generally thought that the Quantity was greater before the casting, and therefore he resolv'd to divide it as follows.

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THE King's Fifth was first taken out of the Heap; then *Cortes* said another Fifth should be taken out for him, since they had promis'd he should have it on the Strand, when they made him Captain General, and Chief Justice. He also demanded the Expences he had been at in *Cuba* for the Fleet, all that had been laid out by *James Velasquez*, the Value of the Ships that were sunk, the Charge of sending their Deputies to *Spain*, the Price of his Mare that dy'd, and of his Horse that was kill'd by the *Tlascallans*, the Part of the *Mercenarian* Frier, of the Clergy-man *John Diaz*, and of the Captains, and a double Share for those that had Horses, or Fire-Arms, or Cross-Bows, besides other small Matters, so that, very little remaining, many of the Soldiers would not take it, and said, *Cortes* kept all to himself, and they were quiet, because of the Place they were in. Some took it and complain'd, whom *Cortes* pacify'd, giving them some Gold, and good Words. A Part was also laid aside for those that were at *Vera Cruz*, which he order'd to be carry'd to *Tlascala*, and kept for them there. *Cortes* was then the first that caus'd several Things for Use to be made of Gold; and the Soldiers, according to what they had, got Chains and other Ornaments made by the Goldsmiths at *Escapuzalco*, which is half a League from *Mexico*. Others play'd with a Pack of Cards made by one *Peter* of *Valencia*, of the Leather of Drums, as good and exactly drawn as any in *Spain*, and when they play'd there appear'd Ingots mark'd and unmark'd, which show'd how much had been conceal'd. A Soldier of *Triana*, or the County, whose Name was *John de Cardenas*, was so much concern'd, because only an hundred Ducats came to his Share, whereas he had expected much more, that fighting bitterly, his Comrade ask'd, what ail'd him; he answer'd, " God take me, if after running so ma-
ny

ny Dangers, *Cortes* takes to himself a Fifth like the King, and deducts for his Horse and his Mare, and the other Man's Ships, and so many Whims, how can my Wife and Children choose but starve, and I might have reliev'd them when the Deputies went to *Spain*, had not he oblig'd us to give up our Shares to send to the King, and to his Father? He added, that it was a hard Case, after the Perils at *Tabasco* and *Tlascala*, and being then expos'd to so many Hazards, to come off with such a Reward, and that it was not fit there should be so many Kings." *Cortes* was inform'd of these Discourses, which by Degrees spread abroad among other Malecontents, and being a Man of a ready Wit, he caus'd all the Soldiers to be assembled, and declar'd to them, How careful he was in the first Place of all that related to the Service of God; the good Example he gave; his impartial Justice, without deviating from it for Favour or Affection, so that no Man had Cause to complain; that he always watch'd for the Safety of them all, being continually thoughtful, to the End that his Vigilancy, and the Dangers and Hardships they went through, in all which he ever bore his Part, might turn to the greater Service of God and the King, the Honour of the Nation, and particularly of themselves, and that they might gain sufficient Wealth to live at their Ease. That he was so free from any avaricious Design, that whatsoever he amass'd, kept, or had, was in order to behave himself like a good Father, disbursing the same upon pressing Necessities, for their common Interest, and the Support of the Cause; and that to the End they might be the more fully convinc'd of it, he would not have the Fifth that had been deducted for him, tho' they had promis'd he should, but only such Part as in Strictness belong'd to him

“ as Captain General ; that any one who would have
 “ Gold might come to him, and he would share what
 “ he had with him ; that all they had yet got was a
 “ mere Trifle, for if they did reflect on the rich
 “ Mines they had discover’d, and the Multitude of
 “ Towns and Cities there were in that Country, they
 “ would not be troubled, or dissatisfy’d at receiving
 “ one hundred or two hundred Ducats less than they
 “ had expected ; that they should be contented, and
 “ assur’d that by the Help of God he would make
 “ them the happiest Men in the World.” By this
 Conduct, and giving underhand what he thought fit
 to those that complain’d, he allay’d the Discontents
 that began to appear, and told the Soldier before men-
 tion’d *John de Cadenas*, that he would send him rich
 to *Spain* in the first Ships that went, that he might see
 his Wife and Children, and gave him three hundred
 Pieces of Eight in Hand.

Gonzalo Mexia, the Treasurer, saw some Pieces of
 Gold in the Hands of Captain *John Velasquez* that had
 not paid the Fifth, and privately desir’d he would give
 them to him because the Malecontents demanded them,
Velasquez said he would not, because he had them
 from *Cortes*, before the rest was cast. *Mexia* reply’d,
 that *Cortes* had taken enough to himself, and so Words
 rising, they came to their Swords, and wounded one
 another ; and being both very brave must have been
 kill’d, had not they been immediately parted. *Cortes*
 order’d them to be confin’d, and having reconcil’d
 them, soon releas’d *Mexia*, but kept *Velasquez* longer,
 because he was his Friend and Confident, being shut
 up, and walking about in a large Room with a great
 Chain that had been brought from *Vera Cruz*. *More-*
suma hearing the Noise, ask’d *Orteguilla*, the Page,
 who was confin’d, he told him it was *John Velasquez*,
 the Captain of his Guard, and that *Christopher de Olid*
 did

did the Duty in his Stead; whereupon when *Cortes* went to visit him, he desir'd he would release him, because he was a good Officer, very civil and courteous, and tho' *Cortes* seem'd unwilling, he did as was desir'd, so that the Men might believe it was at *Moteczuma's* Request, and from that Time *Velasquez* and *Mexia* were very good Friends.

At the Time when *Cortes* had his Thoughts most taken up, about sending a Present to the King, and Money to *Hispaniola* and other Islands to purchase Arms and Horses, with Advice of his Success, to invite his Friends and others to come over to him; concluding with himself, that having *Moteczuma*, in his Custody, he might subdue all the Empire, if more Men came to him, with the Assistance of the *Tlascallans*, and the rest that had offer'd their Service, and were Enemies to the *Mexicans*, then Fortune began to frown, through the unfearchable Judgments of God, tho' *Cortes* was so zealous a Christian, that he heard Mass every Day, and took Care his Men should do so, and gave a good Example, living soberly and discreetly, labouring for the Conversion of those Infidels, as occasion offer'd, that being no proper Season to attempt it more openly. However there was a great Stop put to the Shedding of human Blood in the Sacrifices, and F. *John Diaz*, and F. *Bartholomew de Olmedo* promoted this good Work as much as they could, and baptiz'd some Persons, who being taken with the Conversation of the Christians, desir'd it; but there were few of these, because they thought it hard to quit their Religion, and were afraid of the rest.

THE Change that hapned was after this Manner. When the *Spaniards* were grown very easy, *Moteczuma* sent *Orteguilla* who began to speak the Language tolerably, and therefore us'd to be with that Monarch, who delighted in him, to call *Cortes*, and he told him that

the King would speak with him, and that he must observe that many Priests, and Men of Quality had been, in the Night and Part of that Day, discourting in private with *Motezuma*. *Cortes* said, he did not like that Message, and taking with him twelve of the *Spaniards* that were next at Hand, endeavour'd to suppress the Commotion that was within him. Being come to *Motezuma*, he saluted him very courteously, and ask'd, what Commands he had for him. That Prince receiv'd him with more Gravity than he had been wont to do, led him by the Hand into another Room, and being somewhat acquainted with the *Spanish* Civility, call'd for Chairs, and all the rest standing, and two Interpreters on their Sides, he said, " Captain *Cortes*, my Gods are angry with me, for
 " having permitted you to stay so long in my City, destroying our Religion; they say they will
 " give me no Rain, will destroy my Corn, send the Plague, and subject my Empire to my Enemies.
 " I entreat you to depart this Place immediately. Ask
 " what you will have, for I love you entirely, and if
 " I did not, I should not beg it of you, since I have
 " it in my Power to do you Harm, and shall not tell
 " you so again. Take what you will out of my
 " Treasures, and go away satisfy'd, for my Gods
 " will not allow of what has been done; and since
 " you see I can do no less for their Honour and my
 " own, be not concern'd." When he had utter'd these Words, before the Interpreter began to speak, *Cortes* turn'd to a *Spaniard*, and said, " Run to our
 " Comrades, and bid them be in a Readiness, for their
 " Lives are at Stake." When the Interpreter had done, *Cortes* rousing his Courage, very sedately answer'd, " Experience had made him sensible of his
 " Affection, and that it was not his Fault if he did
 " not continue in his Company; but that since his
 " Gods,

“ Gods, and his People were of that Mind, he should
 “ consider when he would have him be gone.” The
 King was so well pleas’d with his Answer, that he said,
 “ He would not have him go till he thought fit him-
 “ self, and he would then give him four Loads of
 “ Gold, every Horseman two, and every Foot Soldier
 “ one.” *Cortes* reply’d, “ That he could not return
 “ to his own Country without Ships, and since he
 “ had sunk those that brought him, it was his Request,
 “ that he would cause Timber to be fell’d at *Vera*
 “ *Cruz*, which the *Indians* call’d the Coast of *Calchi-*
 “ *cocca*, and he would find Men to build them.” *Mo-*
tezuma approv’d of what he said, and order’d the Tim-
 ber to be fell’d. *Cortes* appointed Workmen to do
 what *Martin Lopez* should direct them, and *Motezu-*
ma, who it is likely was not very suspicious, believ’d
 it. *Cortes* acquainted his Men with *Motezuma*’s Will,
 encourag’d them, and said, “ That God, whose Cause
 “ they had in Hand, would in the mean Time whilst
 “ the Ships were building, so dispose their Affairs,
 “ that they should not lose that good Counrry.” He
 directed *Martin Lopez* to make Show of carrying on
 the Work with Diligence, but at the same Time to
 retard it as much as might be, and continually to send
 him Advice of every Thing that hapned.

Motezuma had some Motives to induce him to change
 his Mind. The first was the frequent Attacks of his
 own Subjects, who said, it was base for him, the
 greatest Prince in the World, to be held in Oppressi-
 on by that Handful of Strangers, and therefore he ought
 immediately to turn them off, for his own, and the
 Honour of all the Nobility of his Empire, to which
 Purpose they offer’d their Assistance; and if he would
 not do it, they would cast him off, not doubting but
 that he must have such an End as *Conatlapoca*, and his
 Nephew *Cacamazin* had before, and they would choose

themselves another Sovereign. The second was, that the Devil, who often spoke to him, threatned, that in case he did not destroy those *Spaniards*, or turn them out of his Dominions, his Subjects should never enjoy Health, he would destroy their Corn, and be gone himself, because the Christian Masses, Crosses, and Baptism tormented him. *Motezuma* answer'd, That they being his Friends, and good Men, it was not just to murder them, but he would desire them to be gone, and if they would not, then they should be kill'd. The Devil reply'd, He should do so, for either he or they must be gone, it being impracticable for two Enemies to live in one House. Besides, *Motezuma* was of a changeable Temper, and repented of what he had done, being sorry for the Imprisonment of his Nephew *Cacamazin*, whom he had entirely lov'd, and he was his Successor in the Empire, in case he had no male Issue; and because he perceiv'd, that the *Spaniards* by Degrees made themselves Masters of his Lands, and what was still worse, of their Persons, and the Devil had assur'd him, that if he would put away those People, the Empire of *Culha* should not expire in his Person, but that it should continue to prosper more than ever, and his Sons and Successors should reign after him; that he should not give Credit to Predictions, since the eighth Year was past, and he was in the eighteenth. Thus it was most certain, that before *Motezuma* spoke to *Cortes*, he had provided one hundred thousand Men to drive him out by Force, in case he would not go by fair Means.

The End of the Second Volume.